



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Daily Report

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FBIS-AFR-91-019

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WFP Launches Program for Liberian Refugees

AB280119089 Paris AFP in French 2044 GMT
25 Jan 91

[Text] Freetown, 25 Jan (AFP)—Today the UN World Food Program (WFP) launched a \$29.4 million program for Liberian refugees in Ivory Coast, Guinea, and Sierra Leone, a WFP representative in Freetown, Bai Bojiang, announced today. According to Mr. Bai, the project, which is valid until 1991, provides for supplying food and miscellaneous articles to schools, dispensaries, and hospitals in the countries concerned. Over 600,000 Liberians have taken refuge in Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Ivory Coast since the beginning of the civil war in Liberia 13 months ago.

SADCC on Rationalizing Finance Facilities

MB2901055491 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0322 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Windhoek Jan 28 SAPA—The Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) is considering the rationalisation of its four financial facilities for more efficient performance, reports Zimbabwe's news agency ZIANA from here.

A report tabled at the 10-nation grouping's annual consultative conference in Windhoek this week, listed the four facilities as the Cross-Border Investment Facility, Norsad [expansion unknown], the Export Credit Fund and the Export Pre-Financing Revolving Fund schemes (EPRFS).

The region's businessmen had urged for increased exports and inter-SADCC trade, the report says.

It added discussions with industrialists had led to the following observations:

- Companies in the SADCC region were often restricted regarding working capital and were consequently less interested in lengthy export and inter-SADCC trade, cumbersome licensing systems and bank procedures;
- The EPRF was only partially beneficial—a comprehensive export financing system should incorporate pre- and post-shipment credit, supported by credit guarantees;
- While new schemes and institutions were required in some cases, short-term finance was most effectively obtained through commercial banks;

This implied that support schemes should be directed through the commercial banking system, which should be upgraded to provide quick and practical service, where this was not the case at present.

The report said a study on the cross-border investment facility had been completed, the facility being intended to overcome existing financing constraints of joint venture investments across national boundaries.

The Norsad fund, now legally established with its agency since January 1990 and located in Lusaka, Zambia, was intended to provide a foreign exchange revolving facility which would include mid-term loan financing.

It was, however, limited to joint venture exporting firms drawn from SADCC and Nordic countries.

A feasibility study for a regional Export Credit Facility (ECF) had been completed. The facility was aimed at affording SADCC exporters a foreign exchange credit cover which was not generally available in most SADCC countries on favourable and competitive terms, says the report.

The EPRFS, whose establishment were approved by SADCC in 1988, were intended to overcome foreign exchange constraints for exporting firms in those member states, where foreign currency was difficult to obtain.

Such countries included Angola, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

*SADCC Nations Plan for Post-Apartheid Era

*Relations With South Africa

91AF0344A Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN
ECONOMIST in English Oct/Nov 90 pp 5-7

[Article: "SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] and SA [Republic of South Africa]: The Road Ahead"—first paragraph is SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST introduction]

[Excerpt] SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] and its member countries ought to be thinking very seriously about their relationship with a post-apartheid South Africa. In this issue, SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST offers some suggestions.

There were good reasons for the creation of SADCC in 1980 which had nothing to do with South Africa. If we can conceive of the African continent as coming to an abrupt halt at the Limpopo, with everything below that except for Lesotho and Swaziland, having long ago floated off into the South Atlantic, it would still have made sense for that group of countries to find co-operative ways of tackling their problems of small markets and poor communications.

But, of course, the overwhelming fact about the region was precisely the existence of South Africa: a dominant economic presence with a political system totally repugnant to its neighbours. It was this that propelled SADCC into being and has kept it vigorously alive. It was a fact that the nine countries then involved could by no means ignore.

In 1979 or thereabouts, these states were being invited by the then rulers in Pretoria, through their brainwave of the Constellation of Southern African States (CONSAS), to enter into a Faustian bargain; sell your political soul by acquiescing in apartheid, in return for the economic benefits of South African aid and investment. The countries

concerned took one look at this improper suggestion and quickly averted their eyes. But it was not enough simply to reject South Africa's advances. They had to frame their own plan for how the region should develop.

The formula they came up with was built on two central propositions: greater regional co-operation for its own sake, and a reduction in dependence on the rest of the world, particularly South Africa. However, in so far as it related to South Africa it reflected both a genuine desire and a political imperative to have as little truck as possible with the lords of white misrule. It was also realistic in the sense that much of the investing and aid-giving world was taking steps, however inadequate, in the direction of applying sanctions. This meant that SADCC projects designed to reduce dependence on the South had a rationale that donors found hard to deny.

A point the founders of SADCC did not address was whether circumstances could arise in which these objectives might need to be modified. The Lusaka Declaration of 1980 did not mention apartheid and on paper, the resolve to reduce dependence on the South seemed to apply irrespective of political considerations. Perhaps the founders felt that this aim would remain valid under all circumstances: that reducing dependence was something to be aimed at for its own sake. Certainly there is no doubt that SADCC would have been—and equally important, would have seemed—a very different sort of creature if the peculiar political arrangements of South Africa had not been part of the picture.

Since then, SADCC politicians and officials have been asked from time to time about the effect on the organisation if South Africa becomes a free and democratic state. Their bland reply has been that if that happens it would be welcome to join.

It now seems a question of when, rather than if and the momentum of change is already such that it is obviously time for SADCC and its member countries to start thinking very seriously indeed about their post-apartheid future relations with South Africa on the assumption that a settlement will eventually be reached. That is the question addressed in this and the following articles. What is at issue is the new situation that will arise after a genuine settlement that restores South Africa to international respectability.

The first point to make is the obvious but fundamental one that in those circumstances there will no longer be any political reason why the SADCC countries should not do as much business with South Africa as they want. The country will no longer be untouchable and the truth is that a great many positions now taken for granted will suddenly become open.

To begin with, the aims and objectives of SADCC itself, as laid down in its founding declaration, will need to be considered afresh. What becomes of the aim of reducing dependence on the outside world, particularly South Africa? Does it still make sense once there is no longer any political reason for cutting links with the South?

There are really two separate questions here. One is about reducing dependence generally, the other relates specifically to South Africa. Of course, reducing dependence can mean a number of different things. It is always good, for example, for countries to build up their own stocks of skilled manpower and technical know-how. But in today's conditions, where all the SADCC countries have introduced new measures to attract foreign investment, the general goal of reducing dependence should probably be reassessed.

A recognition that poor countries need more development capital than they can generate themselves is scarcely compatible with the notion of making steady progress towards economic independence, unless that term is restricted to independence in policy-making and does not include, for example, a steady increase in the proportion of business that is locally owned. The belief of most economists that more foreign trade brings benefits to both parties is also more widely accepted, even if most governments in the region still choose to impoverish their countries by heavy protectionism, certainly the once fashionable idea that newly independent countries should reach out for something called economic independence no longer cuts much ice or is it wood?

The case is altered, however, by the singling out of South Africa for special mention. When that country becomes a member in good standing of the club of respectable nations, then the question of how much or little business its neighbours will want to do with it is one that each of those neighbours will decide on the basis of its own national interests. It is not clear that once the political factor is out of the way there will be a common SADCC interest. For example, in choosing the best transport route to the coast Zambia's importers and exporters will no longer have to pay any attention to strategic aspects and can decide purely on the basis of cost and reliability.

This points to the major question the SADCC countries will have to ask themselves, namely how much of a common interest they will still have as distinct from South Africa once the latter becomes a friendly partner. If they simply invite South Africa to join the group and the invitation is accepted, then it is hard to see how SADCC could continue to have much reality.

The new member might be so dominant that the interests of the others would be swamped. In that case they would become peripheral off shoots of the South African economy. More precisely, some of them—perhaps Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia—might become even more integrated into that economy. Others (Angola, Tanzania) which have never done much business with South Africa in the past might drift away, leaving an intermediate group of Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique—Mozambique because Zambia and Zimbabwe would be the major users of its ports. In effect this would be a reversion to how things were during the colonial period—plus Mozambique and minus the colonial powers, which to some extent acted to differentiate the countries they ruled from the South African colossus.

Might this be what the SADCC countries want? They had better think hard about it, because in the absence of positive action on their part things could go any way. In fact they ought to be able to do better than this—but only if they are careful in identifying their real interest and working out concrete arrangements to protect themselves.

A free and respectable South Africa could turn the SADCC countries other than Angola and Tanzania into outlying units of a natural economic zone with one member who is bigger, richer and more developed than all the others put together (see table on page 9)

Such a situation would pose well-known problems. The smaller and poorer members could hope to gain some benefit in the form of a trickle-down of capital and other resources from the bigger and richer one. But the losses could easily outweigh any such benefits. To the extent that they are tied in to common economic arrangements, which can range from a free trade area at the looser end, through a customs union to a fully [passage omitted]

Actual negotiations can't begin until a political settlement is reached in South Africa and the new government takes power. But it is certainly not too early for the hard thinking to begin within SADCC. The regional grouping cannot afford to let itself be dragged along in the wake of events. It needs to be equipped ahead of time with clear thoughts about what it wants. So far, if any such thinking is going on it is being kept well under wraps.

A conference on prospects for economic growth in the southern African region, held recently in Geneva under the auspices of the World Economic Forum, was attended by finance or trade ministers from all SADCC countries who explained their new investment policies to South African and international businessmen. All sides agreed that the regional dimension was an essential aspect of the historic changes that seem to be occurring. But nobody put forward any definite ideas about the form of a future association between South Africa and its neighbours—and surprisingly, SADCC itself as an organisation was not represented.

Currently, most if not all SADCC governments are preoccupied with the need to achieve faster economic growth, which means attracting more investment. So far they have had little success. SADCC's own theme song for several years has been investment in production. The great danger for the southern African region is that it will find itself more and more on the sidelines in a world that is competing ferociously for scarce capital.

South Africa itself was once a magnet for international investment, but not for some time now because of the political situation. When that is resolved it is an open question whether the region will be seen once again as a dynamic growth prospect—or as a global irrelevance. The answer will depend largely on whether the future South African government pursues outward-looking or introspective economic policies. But in any event it is absolutely vital that the SADCC countries do everything they possibly can to get a good share of whatever resources may be

obtainable. This means thinking now about the new structures and institutions best geared to that end.

The prospect of a democratic South Africa also raises other kinds of awkward questions for the SADCC states. Apartheid, for as long as it lasted, was a favourite hobby-horse on which they could ride away from the international spotlight which occasionally focused on their own societies. But a democratic South Africa will not offer that easy escape. They can expect to be placed under the glare of that spotlight and to answer the knotty question of what they made of democracy.

The issue of democracy, or "good governance," as the World Bank prefers to call it in its Long Term Perspective Study of Africa (LTPS), is a topic that featured prominently at the Maastricht Conference (SAE August/September) which was so-chaired by Botswana's President Quett Masire and Mr Robert McNamara, the former president of the World Bank, and which is being taken up at many other international meetings. That Maastricht conference gave international donors their chance to deliver the message that they do not intend to treat the issue of good governance as a sleeping dog that can be left to lie. They suggested, emphatically, that good governance implied pluralism, and more specifically, the multi-party system.

SADCC countries can expect the donors to live up to their warning and to insist that there is a close link between oppressive politics and economic misery. That vision of things is bound to influence their attitude on future aid to SADCC countries.

Others have different visions on these matters. We publish their views in the following pages to spur thinking about the effect on SADCC if South Africa becomes a free and democratic state.

*Scenarios for Cooperation

91AF0344B Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN
ECONOMIST in English Oct/Nov 90 pp 7, 9

[Article by Tony Hawkins: "Hard-Headed Realism"—first paragraph is SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST introduction]

[Text] The question that SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] planners should be asking themselves is: what form should co-operation take? Professor Tony Hawkins offers some possible scenarios.

During its first ten years, SADCC made little progress towards achieving either of its two main goals; reduced economic dependence, especially on South Africa, and increased regional co-operation. The objective of reduced economic dependence, founded on the writings of the far-left dependency school in the 1960s and 1970s, was always ill-conceived. It was—and is—out of the question that a grouping of nine, now ten, undeveloped economies could achieve self-sustained economic growth. Indeed, SADCC's main function during the 1980s was as an

umbrella attracting foreign aid. Net aid inflows into the region averaged more than US\$2 billion annually during the 1980s.

Reliance on foreign capital also increased during that decade, with the region's foreign debt burden rising more than 75 percent. Intra-regional trade failed to develop, while coordination in such obvious fields as tourism has been very limited. The creation of a private sector organisation like the Beira Corridor Group was a reminder that the member governments of SADCC lacked the capacity to carry through even relatively straightforward cooperative projects such as the Mozambique corridors.

In 1990, with South Africa seemingly on the road of irreversible political change, SADCC confronts a very different situation from the one it faced when it was founded ten years ago. A fundamental overhaul of policy is called for. The organisation must start by recognising that in an increasingly interdependent world, further talk of reducing dependence is wholly inappropriate. For the foreseeable future the SADCC Ten will have to rely on imported capital, skills and technology. There is no go-it-alone option. Indeed, there never was. And on the assumption that the De Klerk reforms will transform South Africa into an internationally acceptable nation, SADCC must find a new role for itself, replacing the sanctions and confrontation rhetoric with a strategy of meaningful regional cooperation.

SADCC's planners should now be asking what form that cooperation might take. Here are four possible scenarios.

- The status quo scenario. South Africa joins SADCC, opening the door to increased infrastructural coordination in energy, transport and agricultural research.
- The free trade area scenario. South Africa joins SADCC and over a period of time trade barriers are gradually reduced.
- The common market scenario. Over a period of 25 years or more not only regional trade but labour and capital flows are liberalised.
- The economic union scenario. A monetary union is established, with a common currency and a single central bank.

Clearly, these scenarios are not mutually exclusive. There could be a gradual evolution along the road to a close-knit economic union, starting with transport and energy coordination and progressively "deepening" to embrace trade, factor flows and ultimately the single currency.

But such is South Africa's economic dominance that only the first scenario is credible. Even the second, the free trade area, is implausible in a region where one country has a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) twelve times that of the next largest partner and three times that of the combined ten member states. (See table)

This overriding fact of South Africa's dominance suggests that there are three possible ways of envisaging how economic relations could evolve. One approach would be to include that economic coordination cannot be deepened much beyond transport, energy and perhaps tourist co-operation. Alternatively, a larger, loosely knit unit embracing the SADCC Ten and South Africa could be established with a variety of special bilateral arrangements between member states—rather as at present. Some states would belong to the South African Customs Union (SACU), several would have bilateral trade agreements with others, and so forth. This would be untidy, and perhaps even incoherent, but it would still offer some economies of scale and benefits of coordination, however piecemeal.

A third possibility would be to accept that South Africa is just too big and too dominant to become part of SADCC. This would leave the door open for some existing SADCC states that are already highly integrated with the South African economy (Lesotho, Namibia, Swaziland and possibly Botswana) to seek closer union. The others would have to look north to establish an economic counterweight, so that Zimbabwe, Angola, Zambia, Malawi and Tanzania might link up with Kenya, Uganda and Zaire to create a market which in 1998 terms would have a combined gross national product of US\$35 billion and a population of 150 million.

Although such a two-bloc approach, by creating a counter-vailing bloc, would overcome the problem of an eleven-country union dominated by a single member, there would be serious difficulties for the smaller and least developed members of both blocs. Countries like Swaziland and Botswana, which have gained from the sanctions campaign against South Africa by attracting manufacturing investment that would otherwise have gone to South Africa itself, must expect a reduction in foreign investment interest. Once sanctions are lifted and South Africa becomes respectable again, their appeal to investors in footloose manufacturing industry will diminish. By tying themselves into a common trade and monetary area they could hope to share some of the benefits of rapid post-sanctions economic growth.

| Whale Among Minnows | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|------------|
| Country | GDP | Population |
| | (US\$ billion) | (million) |
| Angola | 5.1 | 9.2 |
| Botswana | 1.2 | 1.2 |
| Lesotho | 0.7 | 1.7 |
| Malawi | 1.3 | 8.2 |
| Mozambique | 1.6 | 14.7 |
| Namibia | 1.7 | 1.3 |
| Swaziland | 0.6 | 0.7 |
| Tanzania | 3.8 | 24.7 |
| Zambia | 2.2 | 7.5 |
| Zimbabwe | 6.1 | 9.3 |
| Total (rounded) | 24.8 | 78.5 |
| South Africa | 76.2 | 39.0 |
| Income per head—US \$ | | |
| SADCC | 315 | |
| South Africa | 2,310 | |

Source: World Bank

The other frontliners are in a different situation. Few of them—Zimbabwe is a partial exception—have attracted foreign investment, but they have certainly drawn some benefits from campaigns by Western donors to reduce the region's economic dependence on South Africa, especially in transport. They are understandably worried that aid flows will decline once the Pretoria threat is removed, with little likelihood of any compensating rise in private investment. There could be some new investment by South African-based multi-nationals seeking to extend their market penetration northwards, but in the immediate post-apartheid period South African companies will need to restructure to face free international competition once again.

At the same time, the next South African government will have to invest massively in services neglected during the apartheid era. Education, health, housing and land redistribution will absorb resources in large quantities. Accordingly, there is unlikely to be much spare South African capital for foreign investment during the immediate post-apartheid years.

This highlights one crucial consideration: the nature of post-apartheid economic policy within South Africa. If a new government commits itself to socialism, high tax rates, state intervention and nationalisation then the hoped-for post-sanctions boom could soon become a slump.

The reality is that because South Africa is so dominant in the region, its economic fortunes, including such uncontrollable elements as the gold price, will determine those of the region as a whole. Talk of common markets, trade agreements and economic co-operation will not mean very much if the South African economy fails to boom. Its

potential, while considerable, should not be exaggerated. It remains heavily dependent on its primary product exports, and especially on gold. It is dependent too on retaining white skills and the confidence of investors. The recent collapse of the gold price, with workers being laid off by major South African mining companies, is a stark reminder that, while Pretoria's economy may be the strongest in Africa, it is still highly vulnerable to adverse international influences.

Suggestions of a Marshall Plan-type solution for the region are unrealistic. South Africa is easily the strongest economy in sub-Saharan Africa. There is no case for a special emergency plan to rescue it, at a time when the urgent needs of the rest of Africa and Eastern Europe have a superior claim on available aid resources.

The entire region, including South Africa, will have to come to terms with the unpalatable reality that in the 1990s it will be living in a capital-scarce world economy. Those countries that have squandered aid in the past twenty years will find it harder than ever, as well as more expensive, to obtain capital.

Against a background of international pessimism about Africa, the start of the 21st century looks like being a very difficult time for its economies. SADCC planners had better brace themselves for some hard-headed realism. There will be no soft options or quick fixes on offer.

*RSA's 'Fragile' Economy

91AF0344C Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST in English Oct/Nov 90 pp 9-10

[Article by Alex Bwalya Chikwanda, chairman of the Zambia Industrial and Commercial Association (ZINCOM): "Difficult Times Ahead"—first paragraph is SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST introduction]

[Text] Mr Alex Bwalya Chikwanda, chairman of the Zambia Industrial and Commercial Association (ZINCOM), is well-known for his forthright views. Here, he expresses a personal opinion just as radical, on the role of a free South Africa.

A southern African economic grouping which embraced South Africa would make a lot of sense, given the smallness of the SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] market whose Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is scarcely half that of Denmark which is US\$90 billion.

But this would be so only if such a grouping was not premised on the reduction of economic dependence on one country—in this case South Africa.

This was an absurd provision for SADCC to have made not only because it thereby reduced the group's market area, but also because it exaggerated South Africa's strength. It failed to appreciate that in the regional context, the South African economy appears strong only by contrast with the clumsy performance of its neighbours' economies which are sluggish or stagnant because of mismanagement,

including misallocation of priorities. Far from being the all-powerful Goliath that some people say it is, in a global context South Africa's economy is highly fragile, visited as it is by the sins of its apartheid fathers.

South Africa is not the powerful locomotive which it often makes itself out to be. Had it been so it might not have been so shamelessly overtaken by the little David that is South Korea—and in just under 25 years. In 1965 South Africa's GDP was US\$10.5 billion while that of South Korea was only US\$3 billion. By 1988, however, Korea's GDP was up to US\$171 billion while that of South Africa had become less than half that of South Korea—US\$78.9 billion. South Africa is eight times the size of South Korea and in material resources is many times more blessed than South Korea.

A major explanation for this was apartheid which apart from being morally indefensible is also, practically and economically, unviable. There has to be something ghoulish about a doctrine which rewards mediocrity lavishly provided it is white and penalises resourcefulness savagely so long as it is black!

So let SADCC, which is itself not an original creation of the Africans but an invention of their European friends in Brussels who have always considered it their moral duty to god-father the African, embrace a democratic and free South Africa with confidence—when that time comes. On balance, the two economic blocs have much to benefit from each other, but not on the basis of reducing dependence on each other. On the contrary, they should fling their doors wide open to each other's competition, for history has shown that economies which put caveats on competition—an instinct deeply imbedded in human nature—and seek blind recourse to administrative fiat, never win.

*Opportunities for Lesotho

91AF0344D Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN
ECONOMIST in English Oct/Nov 90 pp 10-11

[Article by Kevin Manyeli: "The View From Lesotho"—first paragraph is SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST introduction]

[Text] A democratic South Africa would open up fresh opportunities for business in Lesotho as well as South Africa. Mr. Kevin Manyeli, an economic and business consultant in the private sector, offers this view from Maseru.

For Lesotho, a hostage state of South Africa, a settlement in South Africa would leave the country free to pursue its development goals. It would open up opportunities for small and large businesses not only in South Africa but also in Lesotho, as the state releases more resources to help the less privileged in South Africa. Cooperation in the context of the Customs Union will be more relaxed and, hopefully, its trade and industry committee will become more active.

In the past South Africa perceived itself as the victim of a total onslaught by the international community. Its response to this situation was a disruptive counter-onslaught against its vulnerable neighbours. When South Africa becomes democratic and enjoys international acceptance, development co-ordination will replace confrontation and destabilisation. And it better do, because the two blocks need each other: at least in the near future the most convenient transit routes for some SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] countries will continue to be through South Africa: the most convenient and expanding market for South African products and capital will remain the SADCC region. SADCC has demonstrated its resilience and South Africa will not find it in its interest to seek a dominating role either within or outside SADCC.

SADCC's objective of reducing dependence on South Africa does not have its basis in the politics of apartheid but also in the economic realities of the region. SADCC states are forced by excessive dependence on South Africa to do business with South Africa even when this turns out to be expensive for them. It is this excessive dependence which SADCC seeks to cure and this objective will remain valid even when South Africa ceases to be a pariah.

So SADCC's on-going programme of action should not be affected by the recognition of South Africa. Moreover, the possibility of South Africa resuming a disruptive role will always be there if it remains outside SADCC.

The SADCC experience has shown that rapid development is possible through a co-ordinated approach: the potential to attract development capital is greater and neighbours become better aware of business opportunities existing within the region. Thus once established, the benefits of co-operation for individual countries should ensure that SADCC remains a potent instrument of regional co-operation.

Of course the SADCC states have not been the only ones to talk regional co-operation in the past: South Africa too has expatiated on this theme. But its version has implied the condoning of apartheid, including the recognition of Bantustans and a racially fragmented South Africa—things which are totally abhorrent to SADCC and the international community. However, this is not to say that South Africa's experience does not hold lessons for regional groupings. The Southern African Customs Union (SACU), and the monetary agreement with some of the member states of SADCC are a case in point of arrangements which have benefitted these member states and which are likely to benefit them even more when the pressure of sanctions on South Africa is lifted. In that situation too, South Africa's co-operation with the rest of SADCC will be a highly productive one.

What sort of co-operation might that be? It is easier to envisage a Southern African free trade area than a common market—initially anyway—for the simple reason that the level of economic sophistication differs rather sharply among the countries concerned, as do the

resources to support and sustain development policy. So at this point a free trade area in which an enlarged SADCC continues to play its role of development co-ordination is a more likely scenario.

The question is whether in these circumstances of free trade there would be need for safeguards for the economically weaker nations. I don't see that need. South Africa is a much more serious threat to regional economic well-being in its present capacity of destabilizer than it would ever be as the major force in a free trade area. As already stated, South Africa needs regional economic co-operation and to be viable, such co-operation involves ensuring that on one state, including South Africa, can dominate the others in a way which threatens them.

Perhaps more relevant to consider than this is whether the entry of South Africa into SADCC might not prejudice the latter's prospects for attracting foreign investment. Here the brief answer is that it shouldn't and for the simple reason which bears repeating, namely that politics apart, SADCC's objective of reducing dependence on South Africa is rooted in sound economic thinking: its alternative routes—Maputo, Beira, Nacala, Dar es Salaam, and in future Luanda and Lobito, are cheaper than the South African ones. It would be unfortunate if donors and potential investors made reconciliation in South Africa the excuse for walking out on SADCC—even where projects are soundly based—as the transport corridor projects are.

***Zimbabwean Trade Limited**

91AF0344E Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN
ECONOMIST in English Oct/Nov 90 p 11

[Article by Ray Woolley: "Same Players"—first paragraph is SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST introduction]

[Text] South Africa is a tight buying market. Opportunities for trade flows with Zimbabwe could be limited, warns Mr Ray Woolley, the Harare-based chief executive of David Whitehead Textiles Ltd.

A settlement in South Africa should be viewed as an opportunity to improve trade and exports from Zimbabwe. However, my experience has been that South Africa is a tight buying market. It already has fairly strict currency control regulations and the rand is not a readily convertible currency.

Should the currencies, including the rand, continue to depreciate against the hard buying currencies, then we must be pessimistic about the future.

The South African economy is likely to continue to run with most of the existing players. The buyers and sellers of goods are likely to be the same, and I do not see that there will be much change in the short term but we must be ready to optimise any opportunities that may arise.

A democratic government in South Africa should facilitate legislation that theoretically should lead to improved trade

flows between South Africa and SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference]. However, SADCC itself needs to get its house in order before the event as trade flows within SADCC itself are hardly exemplary.

This whole region, including RSA [Republic of South Africa] itself, is full of consumer merchandise manufactured in the Far Eastern countries. In this region we have one way trade, i.e. Far Eastern countries to the region. I doubt whether there are many exports from the region to the Far East (maybe coal ex-South Africa).

I presume that the rationale behind SADCC (i.e. to reduce dependency on RSA) would have to be changed, and that the only emphasis would be on regional co-operation between member states.

I believe the concept of community groupings like SADCC is the only way to make progress in economies that have to compete for growth and development. I therefore believe that SADCC has a role to play and that South Africa would wish to join it. However, this will be a political decision, not an economic one. If SADCC had a better economic track record then South Africa would probably join on the basis of an economic decision as well as on a political decision.

I would hope that Southern Africa would become a free trade area, but if experience of the past is anything to go by, it is likely to take decades. There is still a lack of trust between member states which leads to openings for foreign merchandise at the expense of the existing regional manufactures.

I do not see South African capital and technology flooding northwards, because the investment climates are just not right as yet. This whole region, including RSA, is still very much dependent on earning currencies that can buy the essential inputs like fuel and technology. I do not believe that South Africa will be any more dominant than it is now, because it already has a big influence on the regional economies.

I think that if Southern Africa can stop fighting then this region has a fantastic potential. Investment will be lukewarm if the fighting continues. We need to attract investors on our own merits because then, we have a long term commitment not a bailing out exercise, which becomes re-newable and we will never get out of the clutches of the donors.

***Positive Outlook for Malawi**

91AF0344F Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN
ECONOMIST in English Oct/Nov 90 p 13

[Article by Harry Thomson: "Locomotive for the Region"—first paragraph is SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST introduction]

[Text] Of the SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] member states, Malawi is the only

one which has maintained full diplomatic and trade relations with Pretoria. Here, Mr Harry Thomson, chairman of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Malawi, looks at the implications of a settlement in South Africa and finds the prospects positive for Southern Africa.

A political settlement in South Africa will have a positive impact. Land-locked Malawi badly needs unimpeded and direct access to the sea ports for her imports and exports. A free South Africa will help to bring peace to Mozambique and this will help resolve the problem of refugees in Malawi.

Relations between South Africa and the SADCC countries will be characterised by openness and trade, no longer fettered by sanctions, will increase. South African tourists will enjoy freedom of movement in countries they might never have dared go before because they would not have been welcome. A democratic South Africa cannot be kept out of SADCC because South Africa is already part of Southern Africa.

The South African economy will be the locomotive which will pull along the SADCC economies. Regional co-operation between the member states will be strengthened and their dependence on South Africa will in fact be reduced because economic development will be spread more evenly than before. Both objectives of reducing dependence and promoting regional co-operation will be relevant but no one will be talking about them. We will all be in the same boat and no one will want to rock it.

In that situation SADCC will have a special role as the only regional forum in which South Africa will enjoy significant economic relationships with all the member states. Bilateral relations will be strengthened, but stressed by multi-lateral relations at regional level.

The whole of Southern Africa will eventually evolve into a common market. But this cannot be done overnight because the member states are at various stages of economic development.

A democratic South Africa will mean peace and stability, not only within South Africa but throughout the region. Peace and stability are the sine qua non for attracting foreign investment. The region is very rich in natural and mineral resources and I think that a great deal of interest will be shown by many foreign investors.

***Zambian Farmers To Benefit**

91AF0344G Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN
ECONOMIST in English Oct/Nov 90 p 13

[Article by John Hudson: "A Boom for Zambian Farmers"—first paragraph is SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST introduction]

[Text] Zambian farmers would gain the most from a settlement of the South African question. Mr John Hudson, executive director of the Commercial Farmers Bureau, says they have little to fear.

If the existing co-operation between some SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] members and South Africa went beyond informal co-operation to some form of customs union, then the relatively weak manufacturing sectors of some SADCC members would be exposed to direct competition from some highly efficient industries in South Africa without the tariff protection they have at present.

Such an outcome should therefore be approached with caution. But so far as agriculture is concerned, Zambia's potential in terms of soils, climate, and water resources is generally better than that of South Africa, though input costs are substantially higher. On balance, it is likely that Zambian farmers have little to fear from South African competition, and that South Africa could become a major market for Zambian produce if existing trade barriers were removed.

A settlement would have both advantages and disadvantages for Zambian agriculture. On balance, it is very likely that the advantages would outweigh the disadvantages, particularly in terms of investment expertise and access to a vast and growing consumer market in a country with limited water resources, considerable soil erosion problems, and inferior climate conditions. Much of South Africa is arid and very marginal farming country.

Clearly, the establishment of an internationally recognised democratic Government in South Africa would remove the original reason for reduction of dependence on that country. South Africa has much to offer neighbouring countries in terms of expertise and research, particularly in agriculture.

Southern Africa already has an integrated transport and electric power network. It would be illogical to exclude the dominant economy of the region. It might be necessary to work towards a common market gradually, to enable the necessary regional specialisation adjustment process to take place without exposing certain industries to disruption.

It is clear that South Africa could have a great deal to offer in terms of both badly needed investment capital and technology, but some painful readjustments might be necessary. However, the SADCC countries cannot have it both ways—they cannot expect close economic co-operation without two-way trade. Some interim safeguards might be needed, but they could hardly be permanent.

***Mozambican Minister's View**

91AF0344H Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN
ECONOMIST in English Oct/Nov 90 p 13

[Article by Antonio Branco: "Suspensions Must Go"—first paragraph is SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST introduction]

[Text] Mr Antonio Branco, the Mozambican Minister of Industry, tells SOUTHERN AFRICA ECONOMIST about his view of a free South Africa.

"Our industries need markets in order to expand. So we cannot continue to close our borders to regional trade. We need to trade within SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference]. We must commit ourselves fully to regional trade. Southern Africa is one of the few areas where we can achieve growth with coordination between our national economies. We need to open up our markets to encourage regional competitiveness. One day South Africa will be free and it will be to our disadvantage if we have not cemented regional economic integration. We have to create an inter-dependent approach to regional development. And yet although we discuss regional co-operation in SADCC, we are not doing anything to solve the concrete problems we are facing like monetary integration. We need to clear all suspicions of each other and see the region as one instead of as separate countries. Let's open up for investment. We need to liberalise the trade regimes between member states. If we don't face up to this now we will be sunk."

*Internal Problems for RSA

91AF03441 Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN
ECONOMIST in English Oct/Nov 90 p 14

[Article by John Makumbe: "A New Set of Problems"—first paragraph is SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST introduction]

[Text] A post-apartheid South Africa could also usher in with the good a host of new problems. Dr John Makumbe, chairman of the Department of Political Science at the University of Zimbabwe, offers some new thought.

A post-apartheid South Africa will be a benefit to the Southern African region as a whole. It is not likely that South Africa will seek to dominate the region politically after the dismantling of apartheid. It is equally unlikely that other Southern African states will seek to assert their political will on post-apartheid South Africa.

Normalisation could result in the end of destabilisation—significant setback to the MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. It is therefore possible that post-apartheid South Africa could become a major contributor to peace in the region.

Although it is unlikely that post-apartheid South Africa will join the Southern African Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC), it is likely that SADCC will benefit economically from a politically acceptable South Africa. But post-apartheid South Africa may seek to maintain its economic strangle-hold on the BLS states (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland) through the Southern African Customs Union (SACU). Indeed other states such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Zambia may well seek to join SACU, thereby imperiling the future viability of SADCC.

A further possible political implication of a post-apartheid South Africa could be that such totalitarian regimes as Swaziland, Lesotho and Malawi may come under serious pressure to democratize. It is unlikely that a post-apartheid

South Africa could continue to prop up such unpopular regimes. The close relations between Malawi and Zimbabwe, however, make this supposition difficult to sustain.

Finally on this section, a post-apartheid South Africa will need to brace itself for the influx of Africans from all over the continent seeking to earn a living and partake of the "riches" of that subcontinent. Already, many Africans from as far afield as West, East and Central Africa have secured jobs and property in apartheid South Africa. The consequences of the brain drain on the economies of other African states could be damaging, even though the remittances of such migrant labour could be perceived as adequate compensation for the loss of skilled manpower by these states.

It is expected that most multinational corporations will once again relocate their Africa headquarters from such countries as Zimbabwe back to South Africa.

South African whites are likely to insist on slow, incremental, rather than overnight and radical change. This will frustrate blacks and may lead to social and political strife. The current profile of political grouping in South Africa is cause for concern.

A post-apartheid South Africa will be so divided and the various groupings so antagonistic that nation-building will be virtually impossible.

The South African Communist Party and the African National Congress (ANC) are closely related. The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) has remained suspicious of both the ANC and the Communist Party.

The United Democratic Front (UDF) is a grouping of some 750 or so pro-ANC associations of all kinds.

Then there is the notorious Inkatha movement which opposes all the other parties but the white ones. Reports on some of the recent "black on black" clashes indicate that white gunmen were involved in some of them, obviously fighting on the Inkatha side.

A further recent development is the enthusiasm shown by the oppressive apparatus in "dealing" with the recent disturbances. There is mounting evidence that the police and the army are rapidly becoming a law in themselves. A number of authorities predict an eventual showdown between the army and the government officials on the other.

It is also suspected that the anti-reformist AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] and other white extremists are expecting to take advantage of such a showdown to put a halt to what they consider to be a threat to their existence and way of life, apartheid. The ruling National Party (NP) has indeed admitted that it has received as many as 100,000 resignations in Transvaal alone since February 1990.

In these circumstances national unity in a post-apartheid South Africa will only be attained by the enforcement of very strong and strict measures similar to the draconian

"Iron Fist" recently initiated to deal with "black on black" violence. Even then, it may take a long while to forge an acceptable degree of tolerance and acceptance of each other between blacks and whites and among the various warring groups. A further possible method of creating a widely acceptable political leadership is obviously that of forming a "government of national unity." The number of factions to be included in such a coalition would necessarily have to be so large that it would be quite a task to maintain unity of purpose in such a coalition for any length of time.

*RSA Trade Mission's View

91AF0344J Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN
ECONOMIST in English Oct/Nov 90 pp 14-15

[Interview with Nico Nel: "The View From Pretoria"—first paragraph is SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST introduction; date and place not specified]

[Text] Mr Nico Nel, trade representative and head of the South African trade mission in Harare, tells SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST about his vision of a partnership between a free South Africa and SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference].

[SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST] What impact would the end of apartheid have on countries of the SADCC organisation and in particular, on trade with South Africa?

[Nel] Contrary to popular belief, South Africa's post-apartheid economy is not going to swamp its neighbours. In the medium term I envisage little change to existing trade patterns which SADCC countries built up over the past decade. However, with the removal of apartheid, ideological differences are bound to diminish, making it possible for governments to co-operate in exploiting the untapped potential of the region.

A basis for co-operation along these lines already exists. Of the ten SADCC countries, four are also members of the South African Customs Union [SACU], namely Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland whilst another member is South Africa's principal trading partner on the African continent with bilateral trade edging towards R1 billion [rands] per year.

[SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST] South Africa has trade missions in six SADCC countries: Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. What has been the volume of trade between South Africa and these countries over the past years?

[Nel] The combined volume of SADCC trade with South Africa has been seven times higher than trade among SADCC members. Almost all of these countries have exchanged more goods with South Africa than with all other SADCC partners combined.

[SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST] What about investment? Do you foresee a rapid expansion of South

African investments, and, if so, in which countries do you see this best likely to happen?

[Nel] Investment, development aid and loans by the South African private sector already make a substantial contribution to the economies of most countries in the region. Almost every significant mining venture in the region owes its existence and successful operation to South African expertise. So too have South African construction companies completed many large projects in neighbouring states. These include Malawi's capital of Lilongwe, the Cohora-Bassa hydro-electric project in Mozambique, railways, roads, hospitals, factories and plants to process agricultural products. Many other investments, especially in the manufacturing sectors, would not have been made had it not been for the proximity of the relatively large South African market, technical expertise and financial resources available from South Africa. With an improved political and economic climate not only in South Africa but also in the other countries of the region, such investments could increase rapidly. Investor confidence will always be the main criterion and preference will be given to joint ventures based on sound commercial considerations in countries with well-developed investment codes.

[SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST] Can you envisage a new approach by the SADCC countries together with South Africa to attracting investment?

[Nel] The rate at which Africa in general and southern Africa in particular have regressed economically during the past decade requires drastic measures to stop the slide. For a start I would suggest a tripartite development programme in which the resources of the region can be combined with South African expertise and infrastructure and investments from the industrialised world to launch a "Marshall Plan" as was done in Europe after World War II.

[SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST] Some people take the cynical view that come the end of apartheid, a black-ruled South Africa will not see the need to pay for friends in the way that a pariah South Africa did.

[Nel] An equally cynical view is that we may have to pay our new friends more than we paid our old enemies. Regardless of the colour of the future government in South Africa, let us hope they learn from past mistakes.

[SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST] What would be the most important contribution that a democratic South Africa could make to the region?

[Nel] Undoubtedly peace and stability.

[SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST] South Africa's state of development is such, in principle, it could contribute capital and technology to the SADCC countries. But others see a danger that even under a new dispensation in South Africa, it would dominate the region in a way that would be harmful for the development of the smaller countries?

[Nel] I cannot offer any comfort to those who fear the new dispensation in South Africa. Many of those now expressing reservations about the new South Africa have been adamant that it should come about. In fact some are still applying sanctions against South Africa to achieve that which they now perceive to be a threat.

[SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST] Would you envisage southern Africa becoming a common market or free trade area?

[Nel] Not in the short term but bilateral co-operation in the region is bound to accelerate and hopefully something could evolve from this that will be uniquely African.

Burundi

Commission Established To Study Refugee Issues

EA2601224091 Bujumbura Domestic Service
in French 1800 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Excerpt] The president of the Republic has just created a commission charged with the return, welcome, and reintegration of refugees as an invitation to them. He promised this during the closing of the meeting of the expanded national extraordinary party congress, and it was adopted by the government of the Third Republic. This morning, the president of the Republic met the members of the commission to inform them about their mission. Jean Nvuyekure has more details.

[Nvuyekure] According to the decree related to creating the national commission charged with the return, welcome, and reintegration of refugees, the commission is mandated to study the files of requests for repatriation, to help the repatriated people resettle on available plots, to help the repatriated people reintegrate into socioprofessional life, to manage the means allocated to resettle the refugees, to get acquainted with the disputes arising following the resettlement operations, to study any question related to assisting the repatriated people, and to carry out a prospective study on the question of Burundian refugees.

As you can see, the commission has an important mission that it must accomplish with justice and equality with a view to strengthen national unity which remains the priority of the Burundi people. The commission has been given broad powers which allow it to find final solutions to all disputes following refugee resettlement operations. [passage omitted]

Rwanda

Government Says Ugandan NRA Shoots Soldiers

EA2901105291 Kigali Domestic Service
in French 0430 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] We would like now to clarify a point which concerns Rwanda-Uganda relations. Since the advent of the Second Republic, the Rwandan Government has based its external policy on the policy of good neighborliness with the sister republics surrounding us, and this policy of good neighborliness is today being severely called into question by the regular attacks which have been launched against our country by attackers from Uganda since 1 October 1990.

Following the events of these last few days on the Rwanda-Uganda border, the Rwandan Government rises up against the National Resistance Army's [NRA] equivocal schemes. Last week, the Rwandan Armed

Forces intercepted a spy and killed the person intercepted who was of Ugandan nationality, and who had infiltrated our country. Shortly after that, the NRA, the Ugandan regular Army, asked for the spy's body, which the Rwandan Armed Forces agreed to return to the Ugandan Government forces. The ceremony was due to take place yesterday and to coincide with the meeting which Byumba prefect (Sylvestre Bariano Ol) was to have held with his Kabale counterpart. It was at that particular time when the ceremony was to take place that the NRA from Uganda, in (Katuna), opened fire at our positions which were maintaining security, wounding at least three Rwandan soldiers.

The Rwandan Government protests with utmost vigor against these schemes and urges the Ugandan Government to make itself clear on this issue.

Border Meeting Cancelled

EA2901114091 Kigali Domestic Service
in French 1800 GMT 28 Jan 91

[Text] Now to our country to speak about [words indistinct] Byumba prefecture towards Uganda. On the line from Byumba, here is Florent Kampayana's report:

[Kampayana] The talks which were scheduled for today, Monday, in (Katuna) on Ugandan territory between the Byumba prefect, (Sylvestre Bariano Ol), and the Kabale administrator, [name indistinct], did not take place for the second consecutive time. The first time, the inyenzi [rebels] tried to sabotage the meeting. Today, Monday, between 1200 and 1300, a Rwandan delegation, invited by the Ugandans themselves with a view to (?localizing) our borders together, was attacked by the inyenzi who shot at them from Uganda. Fortunately, the inyenzi were clumsy. [Words indistinct] did not, then, allow the meeting to be held as scheduled. Yet the Kabale administrator had declared that the area was guarded by the Ugandan regular army. But since the inyenzi and the Ugandan National Resistance Army wear the same uniforms and carry the same weapons, and since the NRA is the inyenzi's nest or (?granary), it is difficult to make any distinction.

Armed Forces Says Situation in Country 'Calm'

EA2901110291 Kigali Domestic Service
in French 1800 GMT 28 Jan 91

[Text] The Rwandan Armed Forces control the national territory as a whole, where the situation remains absolutely calm. In Ruhengeri, the population continues to help the Rwandan Armed Forces to drive out the last enemy elements who attacked the town of Ruhengeri last week. The town center is again full of life and crowded, and road traffic on the Kigali-Ruhengeri-Gisenyi national road is at a normal level for supplying the capital.

Djibouti

'Leader' of Tadjoura Attack Arrested 23 Jan

AB2501174891 Paris AFP in English 1336 GMT
25 Jan 91

[Text] Djibouti, Jan 25 (AFP)—Security forces in Djibouti have arrested the alleged leader of an attack on Tadjoura army camp two weeks ago in which one soldier was killed and two were wounded, it was announced Friday. The suspect, who was not identified, was arrested on Wednesday.

The army seized 700 kilograms (1,500 lbs) of arms and explosives in caches near the northern town of Tadjoura on January 16, the government newspaper NATION also reported Friday.

Several hundreds people, the majority from the Afar tribe, have been rounded up in recent weeks suspected of involvement in what the authorities call a plot to "destabilise" the regime of President Hassan Gouled Aptidon, who belongs to the rival Issa clan. A score of those arrested are known to be still in prison, most of them charged with offences ranging from endangering state security, murder or membership of a criminal organization. They include the alleged ringleader Ali Aref Bourhan, a veteran Afar politician who was head of the autonomous government of the Horn of Africa territory of Afars and Issas until it became independent from France in 1977.

A letter from the Djibouti Interior Ministry to Amnesty International this week named others as Mr. Aref's lawyer nephew Aref Mohamed Aref, government financial director Mohamed Daoud and Army Lieutenant Abdoukader Abbas.

Two soldiers have been killed in clashes and ambushes since January 8 in Afar country in the northern region round Tadjoura.

Ethiopia

New Workers' Revolutionary Party Holds Congress

EA2701175891 (Clandestine) Voice of the Ethiopian People for Peace, Democracy, and Freedom in Amharic 0400 GMT 27 Jan 91

[Excerpts] A historic congress to establish the Ethiopian Workers' Revolutionary Party [EWRP] and the first congress of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF] which were held in the EPRDF liberated territory have ended triumphantly. The historic congress to establish the EWRP was held in the EPRDF liberated territory from 9 to 16 January. [passage omitted]

A report was presented by the party organizing commission, and after holding exhaustive discussions on current international, national, and organizational issues, the participants laid down future methods of struggle. The programs and plan of the party were also approved. It

was decided that the name of the party should be the EWRP. From the participants, 21 executive central committee members and seven auditing members of the party were elected. [passage omitted]

The first congress of the EPRDF was held from 17 to 23 January. [passage omitted]

[(Clandestine) Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya at 1500 GMT on 27 January 1991 reports that "an Ethiopian People's Liberation Front delegation headed by Comrade Alamine Muhammad Said, member of the politburo and head of national guidance, participated in the first EPRDF congress."]

Kenya

Government To Assist in Safe Passage for Siad

EA2801200091 Nairobi KTN Television
in English 1800 GMT 28 Jan 91

[Text] The Government of Kenya has said it will facilitate safe passage to the country for embattled Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre. Ambassador Ochieng Adala told KTN in an interview today that this would be in line with President Daniel arap Moi's call to Kenyans to accord all fleeing Somali nationals Kenyan hospitality. Adala was responding to inquiries about unconfirmed reports that the Italian Government was seeking Kenya's assistance in allowing Barre onto Kenyan soil before he is flown out to Italy where he may seek political asylum.

Unconfirmed reports early today said that Barre had taken refuge in the Indian Ocean port of Kismaayo after fleeing the Somali capital, Mogadishu. Sources said the Somali president has sought Italian help in securing safe passage through Kenya.

When contacted, the Italian ambassador to Kenya, Renato Volpini, said he had no news about Barre's request for asylum in Italy, adding that he had no idea of Barre's destination. Volpini said he had not as yet been in touch with Kenyan Government authorities over the matter.

Barre fled yesterday in a tank after rebels overran his palace and seized the state radio station. Volpini suggested that Siad Barre may be waiting for a plane to airlift him from Kismaayo.

Official on Siad's Whereabouts

EA2901120691 Nairobi THE STANDARD
in English 29 Jan 91 p 1

[Article by Bakr Ogle and agencies: "Kenya Offers Refuge to Deposed Barre"]

[Excerpt] A senior Kenyan Foreign Ministry official today said that Kenya would offer ousted Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre safe passage through the country. "The principle is that if anyone comes to our borders from an area where there is trouble, and whose life is threatened, then there will be assistance," he told

REUTERS. He said a request for political asylum would be considered separately. "The two are separate issues," he added.

The source confirmed that Siad Barre - aged about 80 - had reached the southern Somali town of Kismaayo after fleeing in a tank shortly before rebels of the United Somali Congress (USC) overran the presidential palace yesterday. He declined to comment on reports that Siad Barre - accompanied by a 40-strong group of loyal troops and close family - had radioed Nairobi today to ask for a plane to fly him out of the country. "I know he was in Kismaayo, but I cannot say if he is still there," the Kenyan source said. He said he had no knowledge of reports from Somali rebels that a helicopter from Kenya had left Garrisa - a town near Kenya's border with Somalia - to airlift Siad Barre to safety.

The Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM), a southern-based rebel movement linked to the USC in a loose anti-Siad Barre alliance, said its fighters were closing in on Kismaayo to cut off the fleeing president's retreat. [passage omitted]

Vice President Holds Talks With U.K.'s Chalker

EA2601195891 Nairobi Domestic Service
in English 1000 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Kenya supports the United Nations resolution calling on Iraq to leave Kuwait. The vice president and minister for finance, Professor George Saitoti, told the visiting British minister of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, who is also the minister for overseas development, Mrs. Lynda Chalker, that Kenya does not condone the unprovoked invasion of other countries. The vice president expressed hope that the Gulf crisis would be resolved soon, adding that the conflict had severely affected the world economy. Prof. Saitoti observed that besides putting the world on the brink of recession, the Gulf crisis had also affected tourism as many people felt that this was not the opportune time to travel. He told Mrs. Chalker that the Kenya Government had formulated austerity measures to cope with the crisis.

Prof. Saitoti noted that President Moi, whose government was taking humanitarian care of refugees, had even asked Kenyans to extend their traditional hospitality to the Somalis escaping the catastrophe in their own homeland.

The vice president said that Britain was involved in major development projects in Kenya which helped the government to improve the living standards of wananchi [citizens]. He assured the British minister that Kenya valued ties with Britain and would aim to maintain it. The talk, which was held at the Treasury Building, also featured a wide range of bilateral and international issues.

Later, Mrs. Lynda Chalker conferred with the minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, Mr. Wilson Ndolo Ayah, in his office. Mr. Ayah praised the relationship existing between Britain and Kenya, saying that there was need to enhance the relationship. He said that Kenya

was fully committed to the achievement of a peaceful environment conducive for development worldwide.

In response, Mrs. Chalker said that regular exchange of ideas between Kenya and Britain would help in solving some of the most critical problems affecting Africa. Mrs. Chalker was accompanied by the British high commissioner to Kenya, Sir Roger Tomkys. The permanent secretary in the ministry, Mr. Bethwel Kiplagat, also attended the talks.

KANU Expellees Call for 'Basic Freedoms'

EA2501115091 Nairobi THE STANDARD
in English 25 Jan 91 p 13

[Article by STANDARD reporter: "Odinga Not Satisfied With Changes in KANU"]

[Excerpt] Former vice president Jaramogi Oginga Odinga said yesterday that he was not satisfied with the manner KANU [Kenya African National Union] was conducting changes. Commenting on the move by the KANU National Executive Committee [NEC] in which all expulsions were lifted, he expressed concern that despite the move, those who had been expelled "from the party have not been readmitted."

The NEC's decision was made at a meeting held last Wednesday. Mr Odinga was expelled from the party in 1982.

Another expellee, Mr. Andrew Kimani Ngumba welcomed his readmission to KANU but immediately called for the restoration of "basic freedoms" in the party to justify the gesture of reconciliation. Speaking to "THE STANDARD" at his Githurai home on Wednesday night Mr. Ngumba said though the gesture by the party to readmit the expellees proved there was a spirit and will to strive for higher democratic rule, "divergence of opinion must be accepted as provided in the KANU manifesto".

Mr. Ngumba said a "wind of change" was blowing strongly not only in Kenya but also in the world and the readmission would only be meaningful if Kenyans were allowed more freedom of expression, debate and association "because many people in Kenya have been living in fear of associating or discussing with others."

"The government must recognise reforms going on in many parts of the world and think about them because it will not be possible for 25 million Kenyans to have the same view on national issues," said the one-time Nairobi mayor and Mathare member of parliament, adding that issues affecting [wananchi] citizens must be debated before being effected. Saying that people were recruited into parties because "they had ideas", Mr. Ngumba politician [as received] pointed out that it would be self-defeating to readmit anybody to KANU and still bar him or her from expressing "his or her feelings as a contribution to nation-building." He said lack of freedom to express views was "by itself destructive to all sectors of the country's economy and political machinery because those people

given various responsibilities felt intimidated while performing their duties." [passage omitted]

Somalia

Siad Reported in Jamaame; USC Controls Airport

AB2801173091 Paris AFP in English 1708 GMT
28 Jan 91

[Excerpts] Nairobi, Jan 28 (AFP)—President Mohamed Siad Barre was trying to flee Somalia on Monday after rebels seized control of the capital, devastated by a month of fighting, and said they would form an interim government. The United Somali Congress (USC), which drove Major-General Siad Barre from his palace on Sunday, called for the formation of a provisional coalition government with other opposition groups pending free elections in a broadcast on national radio, monitored by the British Broadcasting Corporation. It also appealed to workers in essential services to return to their jobs.

Mogadishu, shattered by shelling and widespread looting since fighting spread to the capital on December 30, was quiet Monday, according to reliable reports from the capital. Maj.-Gen. Siad Barre, driven from his palace in Mogadishu on Sunday, fled to the port of Kismaayo, 500 kilometres (300 miles) south of the capital, where he tried in vain to find a plane to take him to Abu Dhabi, diplomatic sources said here. (In Abu Dhabi a diplomat at the Somali embassy said a former opposition leader Omar Arteh Ghalib had formed a caretaker government and was fighting the rebels in the capital.)

On Monday the septuagenarian president was holed up in Jamaame, a village a few miles north of Kismaayo, with several aides and 100 loyal troops, said residents of the village, contacted by radio from Nairobi. The Somali ambassador to Italy, Yusuf Ali Osman, also in Jamaame was believed to be trying to obtain the assistance of Italy, the former colonial power, to arrange the president's departure, the residents said.

The USC controlled all of Mogadishu, including the airport, on Monday, reliable reports from Mogadishu said. The national radio came back on the air Monday after a 24-hour silence since it announced that the USC had taken over the government. [passage omitted]

A SNM [Somali National Movement] representative in London, Mohamed Dahir Hersi, contacted by telephone from Nairobi, said the the SNM "welcomes the fall of the dictator and will obviously cooperate with the USC." The leaders of the two rebel movements, Colonel Omar Jeiss of the SPM [Somali Patriotic Movement] and Abdurahman Ali "Toor" of the SPM, were expected in Mogadishu shortly, diplomatic sources said. General Mohammed Farah Haideed, who leads part of the USC forces, was also expected. But forging a new government may prove difficult, analysts said, as Somalis are deeply

divided by centuries-old clan rivalries, though they share the same language and almost all are Muslim. [passage omitted]

Siad Loyalists Said 'Surrendering En Masse'

EA2801194891 (Clandestine) Radio of the
Somali National Movement in Somali
1658 GMT 28 Jan 91

[Text] Reports reaching Radio of the Somali National Movement say that in various parts of our country remnants of Siad Barre's soldiers and officials are surrendering en masse to the bases of the liberation movements.

Out To 'Capture' Siad

EA2901103691 Mogadishu Domestic Service
in Somali 0458 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] During Mohamed Siad Barre's rule, which spanned 21 years, the Somali people faced numerous problems. They had always pondered over ways of overcoming these problems. The Somali people were unable to tolerate the painful problems created by Siad Barre and his henchmen. The Somali people have now realized the need for the removal and capture of Siad Barre and his henchmen. Soldiers have now embarked on the task of capturing the dictator. Thanks to God, the Somali people have now scored victories.

USC Rebel Movement Appoints New President

EA2901092091 Mogadishu Domestic Service
in Somali 0501 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Listeners, we present you with an urgent piece of news we have received:

In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful: After considering the first decree in which the USC announced it had taken over the administration of the country, and considering the need for a quick appointment of a head of state who can display unity pending consultations concerning the first decree, the (?executive) committee of the United Somali Congress [USC] has resolved to appoint Mr. (Ali Mahdi Mohamed) as president of Somalia. He wields all executive powers. The appointment is effective from 28 January. Therefore, (Ali Mahdi Mohamed) becomes the Somali president.

AFP Reports Appointment

AB2901102691 Paris AFP in French 0952 GMT
29 Jan 91

[Text] The United Somali Congress (USC) has appointed Mr. Ali Mahdi Mohamed as the new president of Somalia, Radio Mogadishu monitored by BBC reported today. Mr. Ali Mahdi has been "conferred with all powers" and his appointment became effective on 28

January, added Radio Mogadishu, the government radio which have been in USC hands since Sunday, 27 January.

Ali Mahdi Mohamed, who is about 50 years of age, is an important businessman in the capital. He is the proprietor, notably, of Maka Hotel, one of the two major hotels in Mogadishu. A former member of parliament, Ali Mahdi is a member of the Manifesto group. Since the beginning of the fighting in the Somali capital, he has been the leader of the executive committee of the rebel movement to which he gave financial support, it was pointed out from rebel sources in Nairobi. He was forced to give up his parliamentary seat in 1969 when Siad Barre took over power. According to one diplomatic source, President Mohamed Siad Barre is still in Kismaayo, 500 km southwest of Mogadishu, waiting to go to Kenya.

Rebel Representative on Siad, Other Factions

AB2801202291 London BBC World Service
in English 1830 GMT 28 Jan 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Well the USC [United Somali Congress] rebels say they are preparing to set up an interim government composed of representatives from the various rebel groups in Somalia. However, given that those rebel groups are largely based on clans which have been bitterly opposed to each other in the past, Robin White asked the USC's London spokesman, (Mohamed Ruble), whether he thought that there was a risk that fighting would break out between the different groups.

[Begin recording] [(Ruble)] I do not accept that proposition simply because after 21 years it is really futile to go on fighting, and after all, there is nothing to fight against. The end that we were all struggling for has come; Siad Barre is gone and we can begin a new page and everybody can take part. So why? I simply do not see any point in it.

[White] Presumably, some movements want a bigger slice of the pie than others—for instance the SNM [Somali National Movement] which has been fighting longest in the north battle. They might, perhaps, want the biggest slice of the pie.

[(Ruble)] I do not think you can divide a pie based on who fought the most. That is not an equitable way of dividing something. We have to find a better way of dividing—or sharing rather than dividing.

[White] Perhaps the USC has the most to give away to other parties in that it controls the capital, and will you be prepared to surrender power to other people?

[(Ruble)] We will share the running of the country with other groups and other Somalis who are not part of

groups in an equitable way. Nobody should expect more than their fair share and nobody should get less than their fair share.

[White] You claim that the rebel movements will not start fighting each other, but there are signs already that your movement is split within itself between the people who have been fighting in Mogadishu and a group, led by General Aydid, that has come from outside Mogadishu and is claiming part of the [words indistinct] himself, I think. Now just what is the position?

[(Ruble)] Gen. Aydid has not been part of the structure of the USC in the sense of the word. He never really attended the conferences of the USC which were held in Rome twice, the inauguration congress and the second congress, and he claims to be USC but I mean you have to be part of the structure of the USC in order to claim to be USC.

[White] So you say he has got nothing to do with your organization at all?

[(Ruble)] Theoretically, yes.

[White] But he seems to have arrived in Mogadishu claiming to have run the show.

[(Ruble)] But he is a free man; he can come to Mogadishu. Mogadishu is a free place for all Somalis.

[White] Are you saying he does not have a following?

[(Ruble)] I am sure he has got some following, but that does not concern the USC.

[White] That sounds like a bit of a headache for you.

[(Ruble)] Not a headache. If other people make it a headache, it is up to them.

[White] But you have one leader, can you name one leader of your organization?

[(Ruble)] Yes, now (Hussein Buht) is the USC leader.

[White] Who is he? What is his background?

[(Ruble)] (Hussein) is one of the most experienced Somali politicians. He was a director general in the government before Siad Barre took power and he had (?been) director general in the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications. He was later director general at the Ministry of Planning.

[White] So he is a civilian?

[(Ruble)] He is civilian, he is economist, and now he is a businessman for the last few years.

[White] But he has been in Mogadishu, underground, likely.

[(Ruble)] That is right.

[White] And who is the military leader?

[(Ruble)] The military leader that was chosen by the USC officers when the fighting started in Mogadishu four weeks ago is General (Mohamoud Nur Galal), who is one of the most experienced Somali officers and who has been working with the USC for a long time, underground with us, under the nose of Siad Barre without him ever knowing it.

[White] What about Siad Barre? Do you think he finally has gone or do you think he might make a last stance somewhere?

[(Ruble)] There is no question of him making a last stance. When something really eventually catches up with somebody, there is no way they can get out of it. I think we would have prepared to capture him so that he should have gone through the due process of law. It is really sad that he got away with 21 years of criminality.

[White] What about his supporters and people from his clan? Will you exact vengeance against them?

[(Ruble)] Yesterday, when we heard that Siad Barre fled from Mogadishu, we issued straight away a press release in which we stated and asked all the Somali people not to take the law into their own hands.

[White] So you will not be hunting down his supporters?

[(Ruble)] No, I am sure those who have committed crimes, if this can be proved beyond any reasonable doubt in front of a court of law, then of course we will have. [sentence as heard] That is part of the law and order.

[White] It is all very well to tell your supporters: Do not take vengeance, but there are feelings that [words indistinct].

[(Ruble)] They will not because this is part of our political program. [end recording]

Mogadishu Radio Calls on People To Return Home

*EA2801203091 Mogadishu Domestic Service
in Somali 1505 GMT 28 Jan 91*

[Text] We wish prosperity to the Somali people listening to us wherever they are. We pray that God bless us with his heavenly bounty and deliver us from evil and from the countless hardships the Somali people have suffered. We humbly call on the Somali people who fled the ugly fighting in Mogadishu and went abroad or went to other places in the country to come home where there is bound to be peace and where there will be prosperity, God willing.

Call Repeated

*EA2901124291 Mogadishu Domestic Service
in Somali 0927 GMT 29 Jan 91*

[Text] We remind the Somali people, wherever they may be, that their home country is now prosperous and peace

has returned. The situation is normal. We call on those people who fled Mogadishu and other regions as a result of the outbreak of war to return home, for the situation has now returned to normal. The Somali people, wherever they may be, are brothers and 100 percent Muslim. We appeal to them to forget the problems they have been experiencing during the dictator's rule and to unite in a brotherly manner.

Radio Reports Welcoming Celebrations in Regions

*EA2901101691 Mogadishu Domestic Service
in Somali 0448 GMT 29 Jan 91*

[Text] Reports reaching us from the Somali Democratic Republic regions say that thousands of people gathered in their respective villages, settlements and districts in welcoming ceremonies for the victories scored by the United Somali Congress following the chasing away of the monstrous regime that has been massacring the Somali people. Waving wet leaves [Somali symbol of victory], their faces lit up with happiness, the celebrating people chanted slogans in support of the victories. Those who gathered were thanked by the elders. The masses pledged to give full support in rebuilding the country and its people.

A Radio Mogadishu reporter who witnessed a public rally at Marka town's huge showground said the people attending the rally showed their happiness at the historic victory. The reporter added that during his tour of Mogadishu city he saw a great number of Mogadishu residents returning home after they were forced to flee the city by Afweyneh's [nickname for Siad] heavy bombardments.

Tanzania

Premier, USSR Envoy Discusses Joint Ventures

*EA2601124491 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service
in Swahili 1700 GMT 24 Jan 91*

[Text] Dodoma—Comrade John Malecela, prime minister and the first vice president, has detailed some of the areas in which Tanzania could go into joint ventures with foreign countries or companies. Speaking with the Soviet ambassador in the country, Mr. Kuznetsov, when the latter paid him a courtesy call in his office in Dodoma this morning, Comrade Malecela mentioned the areas as those which would earn the nation foreign currency and which would increase the productivity of our industries. Comrade Malecela said that joint ventures were possible in agriculture, by producing crops to be sold abroad so as to accrue foreign currencies. The talks between Comrade Malecela and the Soviet ambassador concerned political ties and economic cooperation between Tanzania and the USSR.

Further on Reported ARMSCOR Deal With Iraq**Ministers Respond to Allegations**

*MB2801163391 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1600 GMT 28 Jan 91*

[Excerpts] ARMSCOR [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] has broken its usual silence on international arms sales by strongly rejecting a newspaper report on alleged links with Iraq. [passage omitted]

In his response to the allegations the minister of defense, General Magnus Malan, has strongly denied that South Africa delivered arms to Iraq in defiance of the UN embargo.

He said the other allegations in the newspaper report were ridiculous and devoid of all truth. He questioned the newspaper's motives in printing what he called lies, without any attempt to verify its claims.

In further government reaction the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, said that the report was part of a campaign to discredit the South African Government.

More on Weapons Sales

*MB2901110391 Johannesburg THE STAR
in English 29 Jan 91 p 1*

[Report by Alan Robinson, STAR Bureau: "SA 'Sold Howitzers to UAE'"]

[Text] London—South Africa is involved in extensive arms deals with another Middle Eastern country, according to evidence obtained by the usually reliable anti-apartheid watchdog body, Shipping Research Bureau.

The Dutch-based organisation, which normally monitors South Africa's oil imports, claims ARMSCOR [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] is involved in the sale of the fearsome G6 155-mm howitzers to the United Arab Emirates [UAE]. It says between 50 and 70 of these howitzers were sold to the UAE just a week after Iraq invaded Kuwait.

A spokesman for the Minister of Defence, Das Herbst, said yesterday that the same claim had appeared before in JANE's DEFENCE WEEKLY. At that time ARMSCOR had said that it was not policy to comment on arms sales and it did not intend departing from this policy on this question at this time.

The allegations about arms deals with the UAE coincided with the report in THE INDEPENDENT yesterday that ARMSCOR has also sold substantial supplies of 155-mm artillery shells to Iraq. THE INDEPENDENT says these shells can be fitted to Iraq's "supergun" and are capable of delivering poison gas heads over a range of 45 kms.

The Shipping Research Bureau also reports that the UAE signed a contract as long ago as 1986 undertaking to buy from ARMSCOR the Hakim missile. The Hakim was apparently specially developed for the UAE by ARMSCOR and the U.S.-based International Signal and Control Corporation owned by James Guerin.

The G6 howitzers could have been "assembled" by Industrias Cardoen, controlled by Chilean arms dealer Carlos Cardoen, says the bureau.

"Mr. Cardoen assembles guns and markets them, and other South African weapons, as Chilean products. He has dealt extensively with Armscor and has been named in a great number of arms deals with the Gulf countries, such as Iraq and Saudi Arabia," it reports.

In its article, THE INDEPENDENT says Iraq has 100 of the South African-made GHN-45 artillery pieces "imported via Cardoen Industries of Chile."

It also quotes a press report as saying South Africa has invited the UAE to embark on joint production of the Rooivalk helicopter because it does not have sufficient funds of its own. The source of the report is a finding by the Oslo-based World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.

In addition, the Shipping Research Bureau also claims that most oil-laden tankers heading for South African ports come from the UAE. In its table of supplying nations since 1979, it says 97 tankers/cargoes have had ports of departure in the UAE.

Other major suppliers from the Middle East are given as Saudi Arabia, Oman, Iran, Qatar and Egypt.

ANC-Inkatha Talks Begin in Durban 29 Jan**Mandela, Delegation Arrive**

*MB2801193691 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1845 GMT 28 Jan 91*

[Text] The deputy president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela, and senior members of the ANC alliance have arrived in Durban for tomorrow's meeting with the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] amid expectations that the talks might pave the way for an end to seven years of hostilities and yield fresh prospects for lasting peace in Natal.

Addressing a media conference on his arrival, Mr. Mandela did not elaborate on any substantial peace plan, but expressed the hope that the IFP delegation would approach the talks in the same spirit as the ANC.

Meeting Under Way

*MB2901082691 Johannesburg SABA in English
0818 GMT 29 Jan 91*

[By Pierre Claassen, political correspondent]

[Text] Durban Jan 29 SABA—The African National Congress-Inkatha Freedom Party [ANC/IFP] meeting started off dead on time and in general good humour on Tuesday [29 Jan].

The two leaders, Deputy President Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, shook hands for the media and then took their places at the head of the conference table.

Mr. Mandela then went on an impromptu tour of the Inkatha delegation drawing good humour and at times peals of loud laughter as he shook each delegate's hand, greeting some as long lost friends and exchanging some words with each.

The two leaders declined to make any statements prior to the start of the talks and said there would be ample opportunity later in the day.

Both men were asked whether they were hopeful of a positive outcome. "We would not be here otherwise," Chief Buthelezi responded after an inaudible answer from Mr. Mandela.

A large media contingent, including batteries of television cameras, engulfed the two leaders as they arrived together in the large conference room.

A long T-shaped table was set for 22 delegates on each side of the leg with the two chairmen, Mr. Alfred Nzo and Mr. Frank Mdlalose, both national chairmen of the ANC and Inkatha respectively, sitting at the head.

A veritable Zulu impi [regiment] of supporting delegates were arranged behind the table facing the 20 ANC delegates. They had taken their seats by 9.30 AM [0730 GMT] and waited for the arrival of the two leaders.

Earlier ANC delegates said they were hesitantly optimistic about the talks. "We have to reach an agreement on the violence," one national executive member said, "that is our main objective today".

Another member said it was more important for the country than for the individuals or the two movements involved that today should produce results. They were all in agreement that it was premature to expect any progress on the issue of constitutional negotiations.

"It is far too early for that," a senior executive member said, "but this meeting is of course a beginning on which we may build".

Meanwhile Chief Buthelezi has made it clear in public statements that he expects more than just a statement on violence but is seeking real reconciliation between the ANC and the IFP.

Observers at Tuesday's meeting and senior sources in the government have expressed the view that a mere call for a cessation to violence from the two leaders would not be enough unless there were clear signs of genuine reconciliation.

The causes of the violence lay in the ideological differences and political intolerance. Unless these were removed or a start made to bridge the differences, the violence would at best abate moderately.

Mandela Addresses Delegates

*MB2901130991 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1048 GMT 29 Jan 91*

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Durban Jan 29 SAPA—Violence must end and peace prevail, the deputy president of the African National Congress [ANC], Mr. Nelson Mandela, said when he

addressed delegates to the Durban peace talks with Inkatha on Tuesday [29 Jan].

In his opening remarks he stressed the need for an atmosphere of free political activity in which "all people can freely canvass their positions within the rest of society".

"The efforts of our people have brought about a situation in which apartheid can be eradicated by peaceful means."

It was ironic that a meeting between "organisations of the oppressed" should require such an effort to accomplish.

The ANC did not believe it would benefit the cause of peace if it spend its time at the meeting pointing fingers to identify those responsible for the carnage which had left many thousands dead.

"If we are to fulfill the true purpose of our get-together, there must be no victors and no losers between ANC and Inkatha."

Mr. Mandela and the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP], Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, both addressed the assembled delegates shortly after the 10 AM [0800 GMT] start of talks at the Royal Hotel.

Belated as it was, Mr. Mandela said, he wanted to thank Chief Buthelezi and the leadership of Inkatha for their contribution in helping to secure his release and that of other leaders of the ANC. Messages of support and comfort in their long years of incarceration did not go unnoticed.

"For us this meeting represents the culmination of our persistent efforts to bring an end to the confrontation which has plagued our two organisations and our people," Mr. Mandela said.

"Our ultimate praise is reserved for the masses in the province of Natal and other parts of the country whose yearnings for peace is the driving force of our deliberations today."

The long and tortuous road traversed to bring the meeting about gave it a special significance. "We have not come here to apportion blame for the fact that it has taken so long before we managed to sit around a table of peace and reconciliation."

"The eyes of the world are on us. The majority of the people in this ravaged province and other parts of the country certainly wish us success.

"The angel of death and destruction, the defenders of white minority rule, will the opposite."

He said there had been previous visits to Natal and appeals for an end to the intercommunal strife. "But more often than not, we have talked at each other rather than with each other and with the leadership of Inkatha in particular.

"Today we can exchange views on an issue which is literally a matter of life and death for so many of our people."

He said the African National Congress was formed to achieve the destruction of apartheid and removing the yoke of colonial domination which still sat on the shoulders of every African.

The foundation stone laid by such illustrious forebears as King Dinizulu, John Dube and Josiah Gumede was the rock upon which Tuesday's encounter should be based.

"The attempts to divide our people along ethnic lines, to turn their rich variety into a dagger with which to pierce their hearts, must be made to fail."

The grim and infamous era of apartheid was coming to an end.

"In the final analysis we are justified to lay the blame (for intercommunal violence) at the door of the apartheid regime which has created conditions of such squalor and degradation among our people.

"We are certainly right to assert that the removal of this system is a basic precondition to an end to violence in our country."

Apportioning blame and pontificating would not stop the carnage and if there was a leaf from the past to be taken it was how to perpetuate that which brought the ANC and Inkatha together many years ago and how to eradicate that which rent them asunder in recent times.

"We have no choice but to coexist—even if it were simply as South Africans. This means we must inoculate ourselves and the rest of society (with) the culture of tolerance and peaceful political engagement."

Whatever the outcome of the meeting, Mr. Mandela asked that "contact among us must continue to nurture agreement and seek lasting solutions to areas of conflict".

The ANC did not demand from the IFP complete agreement with its views. The culture of debate must be allowed to flower in full bloom if a prosperous South Africa was to be attained.

Every South African, including the security forces, should help build a nation all could be proud of.

"More immediately we must rebuild and develop communities in a manner that removes the potential for violence and heals the wounds of conflict. This challenge faces us as we start our historic deliberations. We have achieved the possibility of movement forward to a democratic future with the minimum of bloodshed." Tuesday's meeting was called on to cement this.

"If we play our role as a catalyst to this process we shall have accomplished our mission. To all intents and purposes we cannot afford to fail.

"Violence must end. Let peace prevail."

Mr. Mandela referred only briefly to the ANC's call for an all-party conference. He said the movement's view was that the new South Africa was the business of all South Africans.

"Our proposal for an all-party congress derives from this belief. So do our calls for an impartial supervisory mechanism as well as an elected body to draft a new constitution.

"Otherwise the final product and the process itself will lack popular support."

Buthelezi Speaks to Delegates

*MB2901121691 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1052 GMT 29 Jan 91*

[By Guy Rogers]

[Text] Durban Jan 29 SAPA—Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi has issued a strong call for peace and an end to political intimidation, but has warned against "impossible objectives" from the African National Congress [ANC].

These included the demand for a constituent assembly and the ANC's programme of mass action.

Speaking in conference at a plush Durban Hotel with ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela and their respective delegations, Mr. Buthelezi said he hoped that Tuesday's meeting would lead to "strong, sustained action against violence in every form".

"Let the people be free in their sovereignty to decide the who's who of South Africa's political leadership... The separate existence of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party is a product for the people's will.

"We each exist legitimately. We each have a right to exist. Let us get on with the job of finally liberating South Africa without thrashing out at each other as we move forward.

"I repeat, violence must cease and when Dr. Nelson Mandela called on the people to throw their guns, knives and pangas [large knives] into the sea, I endorsed his call. I endorse it again today."

However, referring to mass action and the demand for a constituent assembly, Mr. Buthelezi said: "The more the ANC pursues objectives which just cannot be achieved, and the more it then turns to blame Inkatha and others for its inability to achieve them, the more bedevilled the relationship between Inkatha and the ANC will become".

The Inkatha president said a constituent assembly followed by an interim government was not achievable because this was simply "a commitment to fight South African realities and it can only lead to disaster for us all".

To demand a constituent assembly now was to push South Africa "out on to a great ocean which is charterless and filled with unknowns. We must know what kind of constitution we are heading towards before we even begin moving in its direction".

Of the ANC's mass action campaign, he said: "The ANC's attempt to claim political goals and then to mobilise mass action to support them, is using anarchistic approaches because the threat is being made that all South Africa must bow to the demands or else".

Mr. Buthelezi said apartheid was already doomed. "All that is left is to finally dismember it and throw its parts away." Negotiating parties had to now talk about how the country was going to move from this first apartheid phase to a phase in which different political viewpoints were put to the public.

"Demanding a constituent assembly is leap-frogging over this vital step. Backing the demand with (mass) street-corner action is seeking the good of the ANC as a political party and not seeking what is good for the state. That is my viewpoint. That is the IFP's viewpoint. Right or wrong, it is our viewpoint. The ANC must talk to us about it."

In his lengthy address, Mr. Buthelezi stated clearly that Inkatha realised the ANC was not going to "disappear". "It has returned home to stay," he said.

Noting that the break in their relationship had come during his London meeting in 1979 with ANC president Mr. Oliver Tambo, he said the cost of that division had been enormous.

Although the prospects of the IFP and the ANC of ever coming together had been destroyed, possibly forever, the two organisations were now morally bound to undo this damage.

Referring to another aspect which he considered had hampered and would continue to hamper peace, the fiery Inkatha leader detailed a series of aggressive ANC statements since the fateful October '79 meeting.

"Mr. John Nkademeng is present here today. I ask that he quietly tells the world that he was wrong... In an ANC broadcast on the 21 November 1986 on Radio Freedom from Addis Ababa, Mr. John Nkademeng, speaking for the ANC said: 'The onus is on the people of South Africa to neutralise Gatsha, the snake which is poisoning the people of South Africa. It needs to be hit on the head'."

Noting his opposition to such statements, Mr. Buthelezi returned in summary to what it was so widely hoped the two delegations had come to Durban to agree on: "However we define our difficulties and however we define our positions, we must end up today saying violence must stop."

"We must end up today committing ourselves to joint ventures in action against violence. We must end up today banishing forever the politics of intimidation which leads to violence."

Parties, Groups Comment on ANC-Inkatha Meeting

PAC Supports Talks

*MB2801164591 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1418 GMT 28 Jan 91*

[Text] Cape Town Jan 28 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] welcomed the talks to be held on Tuesday between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress [ANC]. Mr. Barney Desai, the PAC's secretary for information, said in Cape Town on Monday.

He said the coming together, after much procrastination, "deserved our highest expectation for peace amongst Africans".

In 1989, alone, 1403 Africans were killed in internecine struggles between political groups. During the first seven months of 1990, more than 1500 died violently.

"The PAC can only pray and hope that this tragic chapter will draw to a close. There must be peace amongst Africans if we are to usher in a new democratic order for Azania."

Kangwane Leader on Meeting

*MB2801182691 London BBC World Service
in English 1615 GMT 28 Jan 91*

[Interview with Enos Mabuza, chief minister of Kangwane, by reporter Josephine Hazeley; date, place not given—recorded, from the "Focus on Africa" Program]

[Text] Tomorrow's meeting between the ANC's [African National Congress] deputy leader Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, leader of Inkatha, is still scheduled to take place. A lot of hopes have been raised that by meeting publicly the two men will be able to bring an end to the bloody warfare between supporters of the two movements which has (?wrecked) South Africa's townships.

The meeting is taking place after a good deal of hemming and hawing mainly on the part of the ANC which has appeared reluctant to accord Chief Buthelezi the status he wants, insisting instead, that he is simply a homeland leader.

Well, visiting London at the moment is another homeland leader, Mr. Enos Mabuza, chief minister of Kangwane. He has been strongly identified with the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. Josephine Hazeley asked him whether he believed the ANC had been mistaken in their judgment by being so reluctant to meet Chief Buthelezi.

[Begin recording] [Mabuza] Mr. Mandela has a constituency to which is accountable and to which he is responsible. He can't take decisions on his own. I believe that having not met Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the past has been due to political considerations based on his own constituency, and I believe that now that he has agreed to meet Chief Buthelezi together with the delegations of both parties, a consensus has been reached at grassroots level amongst the supporters of Mr. Mandela—the African National Congress, that is.

[Hazeley] What do you feel this tomorrow's meeting will achieve? Do you think it will halt the violence?

[Mabuza] Firstly, I think it will be symbolic to South Africans that the two leaders are at last meeting. Secondly, I believe that matters of substance will be discussed as to what the causes of the violence are and what remedial steps might be taken. But most importantly, I think, is the program of action which both parties will agree to—as to what they should do on the ground in order to stop this internecine conflict which has done a lot of harm to the cause of the black people in the country.

[Hazeley] What do you think the agenda will be for tomorrow's meeting?

[Mabuza] I cannot speculate on the agenda because I am away from home but I would like to believe that the question of political tolerance will be discussed, because I think the enemy of our advancement in South Africa or the advancement of the cause of the black people has been intolerance. We are just prone not to tolerate those who oppose our views. Dissent is mistaken for enmity and someone who dissents then has to be eliminated. I think we can't afford that. Secondly, I believe, there should be agreement on the cultivation of the culture of democracy, a democratic culture should be developed in our country. [end recording]

SACC Welcomes Meeting

*MB2901063491 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2341 GMT 28 Jan 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Jan 28 SAPA—The South African Council of Churches [SACC] said in a statement on Monday that the feud between ANC [African National Congress] and Inkatha supporters could probably come to an end if Tuesday's Inkatha-ANC peace meeting could be coupled with police impartiality in the crisis.

Welcoming the meeting at which the long-awaited meeting between Inkatha Freedom Party's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the African National Congress' Nelson Mandela will take place, the SACC said: "We pray that these leaders may be given guidance to come to joint agreements which will lead our nation forward on the path to reconciliation".

The SACC said it hoped the meeting would help end the feuding between supporters of both organisations, who it believed were being misguided and manipulated by those whose interests it was to keep unrest brewing in South Africa.

"Nevertheless we realise that the impartial and responsible behaviour of the South African Police is also necessary to bring this violence to an end."

NP Hopes for Positive Outcome

*MB2901063891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0028 GMT 29 Jan 91*

[Text] Cape Town January 28 SAPA—A positive outcome of Tuesday's meeting between the ANC [African National Congress] and Inkatha would contribute greatly to expediting the negotiating process, the executive of the Federal Council of the National Party [NP] said in a statement on Monday.

It said the NP, in the belief that significant progress towards a peaceful and prosperous new South Africa could only be made through continued dialogue and negotiation, would like to meet Inkatha and the ANC, together with other political parties, as soon as possible around the negotiation table.

"The NP therefore wishes the participants in tomorrow's meeting well, and urges them to be aware of their grave responsibility towards all the people of South Africa."

A positive outcome could also make a valuable contribution to relieving existing tensions which often erupted into destructive violence, and further establish the principle of non-violent settlement of disputes and political differences.

The meeting would be closely watched not only by the supporters of the respective organisations, but by a much larger audience.

Further Reportage on Ciskei Coup Attempt

Former Security Head Shot

*MB2801125391 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1100 GMT 28 Jan 91*

[Text] The former head of security in Ciskei, Mr. Charles Sebe, was shot dead this morning. No details are known other than that he was shot in the Izile area of Ciskei.

Mr. Sebe and a former member of the Ciskeian Military Council, Colonel (Mangwane) Guzana, tried to stage a coup yesterday, but their attempt was foiled by the Ciskeian Security Forces, who killed Col. Guzana and wounded Mr. Sebe at a roadblock. Mr. Sebe managed to flee.

Farmers Protest, Confront Police in Pretoria

*MB2901070891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0646 GMT 29 Jan 91*

[Text] Pretoria Jan 29 SAPA—A potentially explosive situation developed in downtown Pretoria on Tuesday when farmers who had blocked off the city with their vehicles came face to face with dozens of policemen.

Well-known Afrikaner figure Manie Maritz—leading member of the Boerestaat Party [Boer Homeland Party; BP], a former wrestler, and the son of a famous Boer war general—stepped to the fore to negotiate with Police Lieutenant Morkel, on the corner of Church Street and Andries Street.

Lieutenant Morkel asked Mr. Maritz to remove the vehicles so that the city's logjammed traffic flow could return to normal.

Mr. Maritz responded that three men who had organised the farmers' action be fetched from the New Union Hotel so that police could negotiate with them "like you do with blacks."

Said Lieut. Morkel: "We must ask you to remove your vehicles so that emergency vehicles can operate. The police also have urgent cases to investigate."

A farmer then told the lieutenant: "Take away your batons," referring to the group of nearby policemen.

"Don't you tell me how to do my job," said Lieut. Morkel. "Let me speak to them boys," said Mr. Maritz.

He then walked across to a police car to continue the discussion, leaving the group of farmers standing in pouring rain.

The city's traffic was reduced to chaos on Tuesday when hundreds of farmers blocked off the city's streets.

"The whole city centre has been barricaded," said City Council spokeswoman Alta Oberholzer. "People who want to come to work will have to park outside the CBD [Central Business District] and walk to work." This is what scores of office workers did, as municipal tow trucks fought in vain to get through the stagnant traffic to tow away hundreds of agricultural vehicles that had been parked across main thoroughfares throughout Pretoria.

"The City Council is trying to trace the organisers to negotiate with them and to ask them to remove the vehicles," said Miss Oberholzer.

She said she had heard of at least one ambulance that had been unable to take a patient to hospital, and suggested that people experiencing medical emergencies should contact civil defence.

She added that the bus services to the eastern suburbs had been "totally disrupted."

Farmers from all over the country blocked off the city's streets under the cover of darkness on Monday night and fixed "Farmers Crisis Action" posters to lamp posts to highlight their financial plight.

The Farmers Crisis Action said in a statement that farmers were struggling for survival and had to insist on a meeting with President de Klerk at the Union Buildings at 3 PM on Tuesday in order to hand him their demands personally.

A spokesman for Mr. de Klerk said he would not respond to the farmers "through the media." Police sealed off the Union Buildings at 12.30 AM on Tuesday, as farmers entered the city, gathering at various hotels before they finally struck during the early hours of Tuesday.

Mr. Maritz led the invasion from the western side of Pretoria.

The crisis in agriculture posed not only a threat to the farming community but could lead to food shortages, the Farmers Crisis Action warned.

Police Beat, Arrest Farmers

MB2901073291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0721 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Pretoria Jan 29 SAPA—Police resorted to violence in Pretoria on Tuesday [29 Jan], raining baton blows on farmers they arrested in blocked off city streets.

There were howls of protests from the farmers as dozens of policemen stormed and hauled them off to police trucks.

Fighting broke out on the corner of Andries and Church streets as unbelieving onlookers watched white man fighting white man in the country's capital.

More on Arrests, Protest

MB2901121391 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1100 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] The police have arrested about 100 farmers taking part in a protest in Pretoria. An unknown number were later released. One of the organizers of the protest, Mr. Manie Maritz, was among those arrested. The police also used teargas at one stage to disperse a group of protesters.

The farmers blocked many roads in the center of the city with their vehicles last night causing huge traffic jams this morning. It is still virtually impossible for motorists to drive through the center of Pretoria, where the situation is still chaotic. Emergency services have been disrupted and ambulances trying to drive through the city have been delayed for up to two hours.

The widespread traffic congestion caused thousands of people to get to work late this morning. Many people are trapped in the snarl up and have still not arrived at work.

A spokesman for the Pretoria City Council said the farmers had breached virtually all the conditions set by the council and the city's chief magistrate for the procession. They had undertaken not to block the streets, but they had done so from early this morning by parking trucks, bakkies [pickup trucks], tractors, and other farm vehicles in the streets. Some of the vehicles have been towed away to open lots.

The commander of the police at the scene, Brigadier Jumbo van der Walt, says the farmers have refused to negotiate. He warned that anyone preventing the police from carrying out their duties would be arrested on the spot.

The state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, says he has no intention of personally meeting the farmers or receiving petitions from them, but that a senior official from his office will be available to receive any petition or document. In a statement released in Cape Town, Mr. de Klerk said the fact that the South African and Transvaal Agricultural Unions had distanced themselves from the protest meant that the organizers could not claim to be speaking for the farming community at large.

The farmers plan to hand over a memorandum on the situation in agriculture to the government at the Union Buildings in Pretoria this afternoon. The farmers are protesting against high interest rates, low producer prices, and planned amendments to labor legislation. The South African Agricultural Union [SAAU] has declined to comment on the disruption caused by farmers in central Pretoria this morning. The union said earlier that its view was that grievances should be resolved through the normal channels. The presidents of the SAAU in the four provincial unions held talks in Cape Town yesterday with the minister of agricultural development, Dr. Kraai van Niekerk, on the possibility of extraordinary relief measures for farmers.

Farmers Hand Petition to Official

*MB2901153191 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in Afrikaans 1400 GMT 29 Jan 91*

[Excerpts] A delegation representing the farmers' protest in Pretoria has handed a petition to a senior official in the office of the state president.

Earlier, thousands of farmers had moved from the street in front of the Union Buildings following a police request, and assembled on nearby lawns.

The police have denied that firearms were used during the farmers' protest. The media liaison commander in the police public relations department, Colonel Johan Mostert, said cooperation between the police and the farmers was good. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, a court order has been issued prohibiting the continuation of the protest. The protesters are also ordered to remove all obstructions from public streets and other public places within the jurisdiction of the city of Pretoria.

Protesters are also prohibited from interfering with city council officials enforcing the terms of the order.

We have just learned that all the 100 farmers detained earlier by the police have been released.

More on Mandela Talks With Bop President

*MB2601173091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1638 GMT 26 Jan 91*

[By Craig Doonan]

[Text] Zeerust Jan 26 SAPA—ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Nelson Mandela and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope have reached an agreement aimed at ending violence in parts of the homelands.

Mr Mandela made this announcement while addressing refugees at Zeerust's Ikageleng township who have fled the strife-torn Braklaagte village in Bophuthatswana.

Mr. Mandela said he was unable to elaborate on details of their agreement—reached after lengthy discussions recently—but said it was aimed at enabling over 300 refugees who have fled renewed violence in Braklaagte to return.

An ANC spokesman told SAPA after the meeting the agreement involved allowing Chief Mangope time to address and resolve violence between pro and anti homeland factions.

Chief Mangope's security forces have been heavily implicated in attacks over the past two years on Braklaagte and Leeufontein residents opposed to incorporation into Bophuthatswana.

Mr. Mandela told about 3,500 people at the township's stadium that he had held a long telephonic conversation with Chief Mangope on January 14 and had again phoned him on Saturday [26 January] to discuss their agreement.

"I will not go into details as to our discussions and agreements, but the agreement is aimed at enabling you to return to Braklaagte," he told the excited crowd.

Mr. Mandela said he hoped to return to Ikageleng with details of the discussions in the near future.

Many Bophuthatswana residents having waged ongoing battles against incorporation regard Chief Mangope as a "puppet of apartheid."

In an apparent attempt to explain to the crowd that it was necessary to resolve differences with Chief Mangope through negotiations, Mr. Mandela said: "Today the ANC is preparing the ground and atmosphere to negotiate with the government. There is no reason why we should not talk to our black brothers in this country."

Mr. Mandela referred to next week's peace talks between the ANC and Inkatha saying that no winner or loser would emerge from the deliberations, but rather hoped lasting peace would be brought to the area.

He explained that the ANC had held discussions with most homeland leaders adding: "We can only have peace by talking with our brothers."

Mr. Mandela brought food and other supplies for the refugees given shelter in Ikageleng churches and promised to return with more supplies and further details of the agreement with President Mangope.

Among the refugees were a number of babies who desperately needed nutrition, he added, vowing to do all he could to acquire more assistance.

He told the attentive crowd he had intended to visit the Braklaagte area but after phoning Chief Mangope, who had reminded him of their agreement, he had decided against going there.

He urged the crowd to remain disciplined and not to resort to violence to resolve their differences with the homeland government.

"I know among you are the bravest of comrades and I know you can fight, but we don't want to fight with our brothers. We don't want blacks to spill the blood of blacks, no matter who was responsible in the beginning."

"That we're killing each other is a reflection against all black leaders in South Africa," he said.

Mr. Mandela said although there were many people in positions of authority in the country, some did not know how to handle differences of their own people and "rushed to pick up weapons."

"It is our duty to try to persuade them to do what all decent people should do in that situation."

"The writing is on the wall for all people who don't want to settle their problems in a peaceful manner," Mr. Mandela said.

Earlier an ANC lawyer had to obtain magisterial permission to hold the mass meeting after Mr. Mandela met police in Zeerust.

A large police contingent roamed the CP [Conservative Party] controlled town streets in what was to be their first encounter with the ANC deputy president.

All ran smoothly, however, and after the address hundreds of smiling ANC supporters left the stadium without incident.

Earlier Mr. Mandela joined the crowd in song and even danced, much to their delight.

15,000 Attend Sebokeng 'Massacre' Funeral

*MB2701153791 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1346 GMT 27 Jan 91*

[By Craig Doonan]

[Text] Vereeniging Jan 27 SAPA—Accusations of police involvement in the January 12 Sebokeng massacre and emphatic calls for the establishment of defence committees dominated speeches at Sunday's [27 January] mass funeral service for the victims of the attack.

About 15,000 mourners turned up at Sebokeng's zone 7 stadium to bury 36 of the victims of the AK-47 and handgrenade attack on mourners at an ANC [African National Congress] funeral vigil.

Speakers included Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, United Democratic Front President Albertina Sisulu, anti-apartheid cleric Beyers Naude and ANC National Executive Committee members Mr. Joe Nhlanhla and Mr. Thomas Nkobi.

Vaal Civic Association's Mr. Sthembiso Radebe called for President F.W. de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Mr. Adriaan Vlok to resign immediately because of alleged police complicity in the massacre.

Most speakers demanded defence units be urgently established to protect township residents from vigilantes.

Both Archbishop Tutu and Mrs. Sisulu called on residents not to take revenge but to hand those responsible over to the police.

Speaker after speaker blamed the police for the massacre, alleging they had supported the "vigilantes".

"This massacre is the direct responsibility of the police and we charge them with criminal negligence in not carrying out their duties," Mr. Nkobi said.

He was referring to ANC requests for police to attend the vigil. Police said they had arrived but left the scene shortly before the massacre, claiming they had been asked to leave by an ANC official.

Mr. Nkobi further alleged police were using vigilante gangs to do their dirty work.

A very strong police and Army contingent watched the funeral proceedings, with an SAP [South African Police] helicopter periodically interrupting Archbishop's Tutu's sermon by hovering over the stadium.

Several relatives of the deceased were overwhelmed with emotion and fainted in the crowd.

Thousands of toyi-toying [dancing] and singing youths took to the streets when the 36 coffins were carried to nearby Evaton Cemetery.

Truckloads of ANC supporters and mourner filled the streets, on occasion booing police who watched the procession from their armoured vehicles.

Massacre Attempt To 'Disable' Union

*MB2501114191 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 25-31 Jan 91 p 35*

[Article by Drew Forrest: "Anti-Union Forces Linked to Sebokeng Massacre"]

[Text] The recent night vigil massacre in Sebokeng—in which 39 people died—is linked to a systematic pattern of violence against workers and their organisations in the Vaal, the National Union of Metalworkers [NUMSA] declared this week.

Earlier reports tied the January 12 attack on the house of Mandla Nangalembe, in Sebokeng's Zone 7, to a bloody feud between township gangsters and ANC [African National Congress] activists.

Five men fired AK-47s and lobbed hand-grenades at mourners, who had gathered to mark the death of Mandla's brother, Christopher, kidnapped and found strangled and shot a week earlier in nearby Boipatong.

Since July last year, workers in the Vaal, have been the target of at least 15 attacks, many directed at the huge Sebokeng hostel complex. Before the vigil massacre, more than 60 had been killed.

"Civic organisations and the ANC in the Vaal are weaker than elsewhere in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging]; unions are the strongest democratic structures there," said NUMSA crisis unit coordinator Alf Woodington. "It's become absolutely vital for some people to disable the unions, so they can't support other structures."

The strategy had been successful to the extent that union and other activists in the region had become fearful and demoralised, he added.

Inkatha supporters have undoubtedly had a role in the violence, and Woodington concedes that criminals have also been involved—notably in the vigil killings. But behind them, he believes, are shadowy elements, perhaps rogue policemen or soldiers, with their own agenda.

In a recent incident fuelling these suspicions, men in a security force vehicle and four private vehicles had tried to gain access to Iscor's [South African Iron and Steel Corporation] kwaMasiza hostel, the scene of ethnic/political splits and violence last year, Woodington said.

When repulsed they had returned in SADF [South African Defence Force] uniforms. The SADF's Vaal command and police said they knew nothing of the incident, he said.

Commenting on the vigil killings, Woodington stressed that the owner of the house, Mandla Nangalembe, was a NUMSA shop-steward at a local engineering firm, Cape Gate.

A certain Sibusiso Chonco, arrested after an attack on the Sebokeng hostel last September and one of 15 heavily armed men arrested in December outside the hostel, had been spotted in the vicinity after the vigil massacre, he alleged.

A former Cape Gate employee, Chonco had been barred from the factory by workers after the September incident. A kwaZulu government representative had later approached NUMSA to secure his reinstatement.

Woodington said that once NUMSA had a clearer understanding of the dynamics of the violence, it would seek an interview with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Muslim Pilgrims To Return Before Weekend

*MB2801201391 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2001 GMT 28 Jan 91*

[Text] Cape Town Jan 28 SAPA—More than 300 South African Muslim pilgrims trapped in Saudi Arabia since the start of the Gulf war will be back in South Africa before the end of the week, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha announced on Monday night.

Mr. Botha said in a statement the Saudi authorities had granted permission on Monday for a flight to evacuate the South African pilgrims following direct communication between himself and Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal over the weekend.

Arrangements have already been made for the return of the group from Nairobi, to where they will be flown to from Saudi Arabia, Mr. Botha said.

"Barring unforeseen eventualities the whole group is now expected home in South Africa before the end of the week," Mr. Botha said, adding he wished to express his gratitude to the Saudi Arabian Government for its cooperation.

Local Governments, Associations Agree on Body

*MB2301094991 Johannesburg THE STAR
in English 23 Jan 91 p 6*

[Report by Louise Burgers, Municipal Reporter: "Councils Agree on Metropolitan Body"]

[Text] At an historic meeting in Johannesburg yesterday, 22 local government bodies and civic associations in the central Witwatersrand recommended the acceptance of a draft constitution for the establishment of a Metropolitan Chamber.

The constitution was presented to delegates after months of negotiation and hard work by officials behind the scenes.

The chamber will serve as an interim forum to investigate and formulate nonracial, democratic regional policy approaches for the future.

MEC [Member of the Executive Committee] Fanie Ferreira, who chaired the meeting, said the formation of the metropolitan chamber was a breakthrough for consensus politics.

He said delegates at the meeting yesterday reaffirmed their commitment to the establishment of the chamber and agreed to recommend the acceptance of the draft constitution to members.

In anticipation of such ratification, Mr. Ferreira said the Joint Technical Committee, which drew up the constitution, had been instructed to continue urgently with various investigations envisaged by the draft constitution. The formal agreement will be signed on March 6 by all parties. The intention of the chamber is that political participation, dialogue and interaction take place within the forum during the period of constitutional transition in South Africa. High on the agenda will be the investigation of a common fiscal base for black and white local authorities.

The chamber will be considered to have fulfilled its functions as soon as an appropriate system of local government and administration has been established for the region.

Cyril Ramaphosa, representing the Soweto Civic Association, said such developments in local government at grass-roots level were of national significance and would influence national negotiations.

Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (CAST) deputy general secretary, Cas Coovadia said the formation of the chamber was an extension of the struggle. He said CAST would continue to object to the presence of black councillors and Indian and coloured management committee members at the chamber.

However he said the civics were "committed to the formation of the chamber".

Delegates included representatives from the Johannesburg City Council, Sandton, Randburg and Rooderpoort town councils, five management committees, the three Greater Soweto Councils, nine civic associations and observers.

29 Jan Press Review of Current Issues, Problems

MB2901111291

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Call for End to ANC-Inkatha Violence—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 28 January, in its page 6 editorial, refers to the meeting scheduled for 29 January between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, saying: "It would be too much to expect Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi to unite their forces, nor would it be wise that they should, since the gap politically between them is like a chasm." Nevertheless, "since both talk of peace and democracy, they can and should agree to end the violence for the sake of their people."

THE STAR

Crime Making Government 'Unsteady'—South Africa is witnessing the "growth of a belief that crime can be

excused (?glorified) by political aspiration or unemployment or simply because it makes government unsteady on its feet," declares a page 18 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 29 January. "Changing this is not a job for policemen, but it surely illustrates why a new political and economic deal is so urgent." Policemen need "more government money, better wages and, above all, improved training and discipline."

BUSINESS DAY

Police Must Assume Rightful Role—More effective policing will not be possible until the South African Police "is able to assume its rightful role as a law enforcer—freed of the task of combating political violence and protecting a state which huge numbers of South Africans identify with oppression," notes a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 29 January. The police should be "stronger, better paid and better trained," but this will "depend heavily on the reconciliation process between the country's leaders."

SOWETAN

Apartheid Not Sole Cause of Violence—Many activists "cite apartheid" as a "prime cause" of violence, notes the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 29 January. "The long years of apartheid have produced stresses and strains which have torn the black community apart, literally sometimes pitting brother against brother." But "to blame apartheid for the necklacings, the decapitations, the disembowelments, is like blaming all of Islam for the Iraq pollution of the Gulf."

CITY PRESS

ANC, Inkatha Must Acknowledge Each Other's Rights—Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English on 27 January does "not expect miracles" from the 29 January talks between Mandela and Buthelezi, and says in a page 10 editorial, the "mere fact that these two leaders will be seen talking may cause sanity to prevail among their followers." CITY PRESS is concerned about the ANC's and Inkatha's "acknowledgement of each other's right to exist as legitimate leaders of their people. We are also concerned about their commitment to peace, democracy and political tolerance."

Call for End to White Parliament—"We are aware of the significance of the planned march by the ANC to Parliament on February 1, but we are surprised by Nelson Mandela's participation in it," states a second editorial on the same page. "Mandela is a man of stature in this country and he is held in high regard internationally. It is not for him to be delivering petitions. The ANC must realise that very soon Mandela may not only be a leader of the ANC, but of all the people of the country." CITY PRESS also notes that the black masses "feel a new

constitution is urgently needed, and President F.W. de Klerk ought to pronounce the death knell of the white Parliament on February 1."

CAPE TIMES

De Klerk Must Restore Confidence in Security Forces—Gerald Shaw writes in his "Political Survey" column on page 4 of Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 25 January that there is "still much despondency" in the country about the future. But this is likely to "ease somewhat" once people are aware that "sanctions are on the way out and a negotiated compromise is indeed in the making." "The ANC's acceptance of a multi-party conference as a starting point was a big step forward." However, Shaw predicts the negotiations will fail if President De Klerk does not "assert his authority over the security forces." "In diplomacy and negotiation Mr De Klerk is keeping ahead of the game in brilliant fashion. But he has yet to restore public confidence in the security forces."

TRANSVALER

'Vendetta' Against Police—"It is clear a vendetta against the police has been launched," notes Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 25 January in a page 8 editorial. It is taking place in the form of "attacks," but mostly through attempts to "discredit" the police. If the discredited image of the police is accepted by the community then "all trust will crumble—and it will be easy for the revolutionary forces to grab power." TRANSVALER proposes a body, independent of the South African Police, be established to investigate charges against the police."

BEELD

Return of Exiles—The government is "going out of its way to make money available, in difficult economic circumstances, for the repatriation process of exiles," declares a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 28 January. "It is even prepared to allow private companies, and even countries abroad, to help financially." Ultimately, "the responsibility rests with the returning exiles and their organizations to ensure that the South African society is enriched by their return."

RAPPORT

ANC Marches To Wreck Negotiated Settlement—"Just as he did last year in a surprising manner, President F.W. de Klerk will definitely make important announcements when he opens Parliament on 1 February," states Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans on 27 January in a page 22 editorial. "That makes one wonder what Mr. Nelson Mandela aims to achieve with his countrywide marches planned to coincide with the opening of Parliament. Is the ANC truly interested in a negotiated settlement, or is it deliberately trying to wreck such a settlement?" This year can be the year of "successful constitutional talks, or the year of successful mass action. The simultaneous existence of both is not possible."

Botswana

Masire Leaves for Norwegian King's Funeral

*MB2801200291 Gaborone Domestic Service
in English 1910 GMT 28 Jan 91*

[Text] The president, Dr. Quett Masire, left for Norway this evening to attend the funeral of His Majesty King Olav V of Norway who died [words indistinct] ago.

Dr. Masire is accompanied by the minister for external affairs, Dr. Gaositwe Chiepe, and senior government officials. [words indistinct] the minister of health, Mr. Kebatlamang Morake, the minister for presidential affairs and public administration, Lieutenant General Mompoti Merafhe, and other cabinet ministers [words indistinct], and senior government officials. Dr. Masire is expected back in Gaborone on Friday.

Swaziland

Grant Aid Agreement Signed With Japan

*MB2501201091 Mbabane Domestic Service
in English 1600 GMT 25 Jan 91*

[Text] Japan has provided Swaziland with a grant aid valued at about 1.1 million U.S. dollars for the purchase of fertilizers.

A statement from the Ministry of Finance signed by the acting principal secretary for finance, Mrs. Noreen Maphalala, said the [word indistinct] to be exchanged for this grant aid was signed in Lusaka by Mr. (Hijo Nomoto), charge d'affaires of Japan to the Kingdom of Swaziland, and in Mbabane by the minister of finance, Mr. Sibusiso Dlamini. It further said the Government of Japan has provided this grant aid to support the increase of food production programs in Swaziland, and this is the second agreement of this kind since the first agreement was signed in December 1989, and a consignment of 1,500 tonnes of fertilizer will arrive in the country in the near future.

Prime Minister Departs for Norwegian Funeral

*MB2701172591 Mbabane Domestic Service
in English 1600 GMT 27 Jan 91*

[Text] The prime minister, Mr. Obed Dlamini, left the country yesterday for Europe to attend the funeral of Norwegian King Olav V, who died of heart attack.

At 87, King Olav will be buried this Wednesday [30 January] at the Norwegian capital, Oslo's Lutheran cathedral. [sentence as heard]

The Prime Minister is also carrying a special message for the new Norwegian monarch. On his way back Mr. Dlamini and his entourage will visit Denmark to see Swaziland's newly established embassy.

He is accompanied by the minister for foreign affairs, Sir [as heard] George Mamba; his private secretary, Mr. Paul Shabangu; and aide-de-camp Richard Dlamini.

During his absence the minister for commerce, industry, and tourism, Senator Douglas Nkomeni Ntiwane, will act as prime minister.

Zambia

Kaunda Says Saddam Family Not in Country

*AB2801135691 Dakar PANA in English 1307 GMT
28 Jan 91*

[Excerpt] Lusaka, 28 Jan. (PANA)—Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda Monday denied that Iraqi President Saddam Husayn's family is in his country. Kaunda said at a press conference at State House in Lusaka reports that Husayn's family was in Zambia were damned lies from a man who needs careful mental examination. The Zambian leader was reacting to reports that a former Zambian Army commander, Christian Tembo, had told a Multiparty Movement for Democracy (MMD) rally over the weekend that in spite of denials by the country's leadership, Saddam Husayn's wife, her baby, two sisters, a brother, a maid and three Palestinian bodyguards were staying at a state lodge.

Kaunda said police should arrest Tembo who was one of the Army officers put on trial for an attempted coup in 1988 but was released in July 1990 following a presidential amnesty. Upon release he joined the MMD.

Tembo is reported to have said that the Saddam Husayn family in Zambia totalled nine, including Palestinian commandos, and that three embassies had moved away their families and reduced their staff because Lusaka was no longer safe. Tembo is also reported to have told the MMD rally that Josephine, wife of Zambian Prime Minister Malimba Masheke, was scheduled to visit the Saddam Husayn family on Monday.

What came to my mind when I read this was how wrong I was to appoint this man as Army commander and how right I was to dismiss him dishonourably from the Army, Kaunda said. He needs more sympathy than anger. He is sick, mentally. He needs careful mental examination, he added. He said if Husayn asks for political asylum, Zambia will not have to ask anybody for permission. It will be made public and everybody will know, just like Zambia had given political asylum to former Uganda President Milton Obote, who is still in the country.

Kaunda, who leaves for Oslo Monday to attend the funeral of Norway's King Olav, disclosed that Zambia had been approached to join other countries in a peace mission over the Gulf war. The countries would meet in Nicosia, Cyprus, or Amman, Jordan. He said a number of European countries would be involved, including Germany. Other participants who have been mentioned include Algeria's President Chadli Bendjedid, Jordan's King Husayn, India's former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, and Nicaragua's former President Daniel Ortega. [passage omitted]

Ghana

UN 'Manipulated' by U.S., Authorizes Gulf War

AB2801220291 Accra Domestic Service
in English 1800 GMT 28 Jan 91

[Malick Eshun commentary]

[Text] For many years, countries of the developing world have been subjected to the harsh realities of the brutal exploitation of their resources by Western countries. Not only have the rich resources of developing countries been exploited to keep Europe and America rich and to sustain a higher standard of living for their peoples, but the very process of exploitation has also kept the mass of the people in these areas—Africa, Latin America, Asia, and the Middle East—in abject poverty and deprivation. The colonial partition of these countries created problems between peoples who originally had everything in common. In Africa for example, the slave trade, which dislodged hundreds of thousands of the virile youth from the continent, also put the brakes on the development efforts of Africa.

Developing countries have often been drawn into wars such as World War I and II that did not concern them, on behalf of their colonial governments. The United Nations, which was set up to preserve world peace and security, sometimes actually promotes injustices against developing countries. In Africa, Patrice Lumumba's Congo was destabilized, leading to his brutal assassination under the supervision of the United Nations. Vietnam could not attract the world body's protection when the United States subjected that country to years of criminal bombings and destruction—neither did Grenada and Panama. South Africa continues to bleed while the United Nations looks on. Namibia suffered several years of injustices and humiliation while the world body made half-hearted gestures.

Today, the crisis in the Gulf region has perhaps brought into focus the harsh reality of the UN's objectives and how they apply to developing countries. In spite of several initiatives for peace by representatives of the developing world, the United Nations, manipulated by the United States, authorized war against Iraq under its Resolution 678. For 23 years, the issue of Palestinian independence has been before the United Nations. Several resolutions have been passed against the background of continued killings, maiming, and destruction of Palestinian homes and property. Yet, it was this same body that in 1948 ordered the creation of two separate states in the area, one for the Palestinians and the other for the

Jews. The Jewish State has been set up, while the Palestinian State is yet to materialize.

Perhaps the time has come for developing countries to constitute themselves into a strong body using the Non-aligned Movement as the weapon to preserve and protect their interests and to oppose imperialist domination of their economies. Even though the world community condemned the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait last August, the statement by the UN secretary general, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, that the war in the Persian Gulf is not a UN war, exposes the tragedy that confronts the world body. The fact that the Gulf war is not being waged under the command of the Military Staff Committee puts the secretary general of the United Nations to ridicule as the commanders of the allied forces and their governments contend they are in the Gulf to see to the implementation of UN Resolution 678, which authorizes the use of force to get Iraq out of Kuwait.

As it has become clear that the allied forces have gone beyond their limit of liberating Kuwait and are destroying Iraq, the United Nations should by another resolution, stop the war. After all, for years, only sanctions were applied to South Africa over Namibia, and nothing at all has been done to Israel. So why were sanctions given only three months to work a miracle in Iraq? The United Nations must stop the war. It is apparent that the United Nations needs to be restructured, because as it is now, it could be hijacked by the rich powers to serve their interests.

Ivory Coast

FPI Calls for End to Hostilities in Gulf

AB2501181591 Paris AFP in French 1303 GMT
25 Jan 91

[Text] Abidjan, 25 Jan (AFP)—The Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) today called for the cessation of hostilities in the Gulf, "the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait," and "the immediate and total withdrawal of the allied anti-Iraqi forces from the Middle East."

In a communique, the FPI, the main left-wing opposition party, also called for "convening an international peace conference on the Middle East within a reasonable time period." Chairman Laurent Gbagbo's party also requested implementation of "the relevant UN resolutions on the region, particularly those concerning the annexation of Golan and Jerusalem, the occupation of territories conquered by force, the right of peoples and countries to live within recognized and fixed borders."

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